League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972-73

Contents

THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Draft Resolution Submitted by
the Political Committee

NOTE TO READER: This document written by the new youth leadership for the delayed LSA/LSO convention replaces the July 1972 Political Committee "Political Resolution" and for the first time indicates a considerable shift in Canadian movement politics (all posed as a fait accompli rather than opening up discussion for these changes). This presentation provides critical remarks from one of the leaders of the Ross Dowson tendency which was obliged to split from the LSA/LSO in March 1974 in order to preserve the revolutionary legacy of the movement up until this time.

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THE DEVELOPING CLASS STRUGGLE IN CANADA

Submitted by the Political Committee to the 1973 Convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

(A) The purpose of the following resolution is to trace the outline and main features of the developing class struggle in Canada within the context of the new rise of world revolution in recent years; to describe and explain the challenge the radicalization poses to the Canadian capitalist system; to analyze the forces that will make the coming Canadian socialist revolution and to describe the vital role of the Trotskyist movement in the revolutionary process.

1. developing problems of cap.
2. radicalization
3. vanguard + Trotskyism

This resolution stands on the general line of the LSA/LSO political resolution of 1968. Unavailable for some time, this document has been reprinted in #23 of the 1972 internal discussion bulletin.

(B) Written at an early stage of the present radicalization the 1968 resolution was adopted prior to the development of the new feminist movement, and the turn of Quebec nationalism to the independentist option. While correctly establishing the framework of Canada's relationship to U.S. and world imperialism, its conclusions about "anti-imperialist sentiment" proved faulty. This resolution, however, correctly analyzed the fundamental dynamics of the class struggle in Canadian society, and established the correct framework for the work of revolutionary Marxists in the years since its adoption.

MISC, etc. show that this statement is incorrect.

* * * * *

except it hasn't analyzed Canadian nationalism & now we have problems in terms of NDP & W.C. work.

(C)

A. The International Context

With the signing of the ceasefire accords, the liberation struggle in Indochina -- focus of the world contest of forces between revolution and counter-revolution for the past decade -- is at a turning point. The Vietnamese revolution[illegible] has been compelled to make serious concessions to imperialism and its puppet Thieu regime. Their setback is a direct result of one of the most vicious betrayals committed by [illegible] world Stalinism [illegible] in its long and treacherous history.

1) Vietnam: Focus of International Class Struggle

For world imperialism, the U.S. and allied aggression against the Vietnamese revolution was a critical test of whether it could stop the colonial revolution in its tracks, to intimidate and deter revolutionary forces around the world. But the heroic resistance of the Indochinese combatants, their military victories against the armies of the world's mightiest power, instead served to inspire all sectors of the world revolution. In

NOTES by Gord D.

A: 1. 2. 3. ***(general comments)***

B. MISC, etc. show that this statement is incorrect ***(MISC – the re-constituted Waffle forces after their expulsion from the NDP)***

C. except it hasn't analyzed Canadian nationalism & now we have problems in terms of NDP & working class work

particular, it gave rise to a movement of opposition to the imperialist war, which, while international in scope, was most widespread within the United States itself, ultimately winning support of a majority of American society for its demands. Antiwar sentiment at home and among the troops forced Washington to abandon use of its own foot soldiers to occupy extensive territory or conduct major military offensives, and made it unable to utilize the full extent of its military arsenal against the Vietnamese.

(A) this analysis is unique to our movement — generally opposed or distorted by others.

Washington's intervention in Southeast Asia was turned into an object-lesson on the limitations of U.S. imperialism's ability to extend its empire.

The mighty offensive launched in the spring of 1972 by the Vietnamese liberation fighters demonstrated anew the continuing, powerful revolutionary capacities of the Vietnamese people, of both North and South, and the ability of the North Vietnamese workers state to rebuild its war-torn economy and continue the struggle in the face of the horrendous bombing attacks of U.S. imperialism. The armies of Washington's client Saigon regime collapsed before the revolutionary onslaught. Only massive air power, backed by the Pentagon's awesome nuclear arsenal, stood in the way of a military defeat of U.S. imperialism in the whole of Indochina.

(B) ? what weakness - above, it was strong!

In spite of the weakness of the world movement of solidarity, the inadequacy of aid from the workers states, and in the absence of an adequate world revolutionary leadership, the Vietnamese liberation fighters had forced world imperialism to a stalemate.

The victories of this poor and ill-armed people were an inspiring example and encouragement to anti-imperialist struggles across the colonial world. Within the imperialist countries, especially the United States itself, the Vietnamese resistance accelerated the radicalization of student youth, encouraged the self-determination struggles of national minorities (Blacks, Chicanos), and provided a split in public opinion reaching into the top layers of the ruling class over the conduct of the war, which in turn bolstered the antiwar movement.

why? permanent revol(n)

uneven & combined process

2) The Unfolding of the Detente

(C) Washington's enormous expenditures on the war and maintenance of its far-flung military empire of bases and "aid" to client regimes have aggravated massive inflationary pressures built into the structures of postwar capitalism. Combined with the shrinking of America's productivity advantage in world markets, and increased rivalry from its leading imperialist partner-competitors, these developments have served to undermine the strength of the U.S. dollar and the U.S. competitive position in the world market.

Structural crisis of capitalism

conjunctural crisis

NOTES BY Gord D.

A. This analysis is unique to our movement – generally opposed or distorted by others

B. ? what weakness – above, it was strong! Why? Permanent revolution *(explains)* Uneven & combined process

C. Structural crisis of capitalism; Conjunctural crisis

general conjuncture

(A)

Confronted with its growing economic difficulties and the military stalemate in Indochina, U.S. imperialism under Nixon carried out a turn toward detente with the workers states. Through a number of moves such as the opening toward Peking, Washington indicated it was prepared, temporarily at least, to accept the reality of the social conquests of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. In return, the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking were to agree actively to aid the U.S. in its efforts to disarm those forces engaged in the struggle against imperialist domination, especially the Indochinese. A competition in servility to U.S. imperialism opened up between the Stalinist leaders, reaching new peaks in the spring of 1972 as Brezhnev and Kosygin wined and dined Nixon in Moscow while the U.S. imposed its blockade on North Vietnam and resumed continual bombing at a new peak of ferocity.

Stalinist betrayals

Peking had already made clear its readiness for a rapprochement with Washington at the expense of the revolutionary movement, through its support of Bandaranaike's brutal repression in Ceylon, and its endorsation of Yahya Khan's war on Bangladesh and Nemiery's suppression of the Sudan rebellion. In February, Mao and Chou had greeted Nixon in Peking, while U.S. bombs rained down on their ally, North Vietnam. Moscow, for its part, had clearly indicated that its desire for increased trade with the U.S. took precedence to its commitment to defend the North Vietnamese workers state.

(B)

relationship of dialectic in determining effects between sectors of the world

The bureaucrats of all the Stalinized workers states had good reason to fear the powerful dynamic that an all-out victory of the Vietnamese against imperialism would unleash elsewhere, including within their own borders. As for Washington, the diplomatic detente was necessary to extricate it from its military and political dilemma in Southeast Asia, to defuse antiwar dissent in the United States, and thereby to ease the moves toward a new U.S. offensive in world trade (wage controls, protectionist legislation, intensified competition for new markets both in the workers' states and among its leading imperialist rivals).

economic, military, & social relief necessary for U.S.

3) The Vietnam Accord

The ceasefire accord signed in January between Washington and its Saigon puppet, on the one hand, and the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government on the other, contains many important concessions by the Vietnamese which, in their totality, amount to a serious setback to the Vietnamese revolution and by extension to the entire colonial revolution.

According to the stated terms (the secret clauses, such as the mutual agreement to delay a Laos ceasefire, are only beginning to come to light), Washington has wrung from the embattled Vietnamese the following major concessions: the South Vietnamese counterrevolutionary regime headed by Thieu remains intact, as does its army (one million men) and air force (the third biggest

NOTES by Gord D.

A. general conjuncture; Stalinist betrayals

B. relationship of dialectic in determining effects between sectors of the world; economic, military, social relief necessary for U.S.

in the world); Washington continues to station its vast air force and naval fleet in Southeast Asia, including neighboring countries like Thailand and Cambodia, maintaining the threat of resumption of large-scale bombing of Vietnam as well as serving to suppress indigenous revolutionary movements in those countries; there is no provision for freeing the thousands of political prisoners presently in Thieu's jails, who face mass liquidation at the hands of his executioners; capitalist social relations remain in South Vietnam, and both sides in the agreement are pledged to defend and protect the "right to property ownership and the right to free enterprise"; and the provision for a supervisory force including Canadian participation to oversee implementation of the accords constitutes a further ~~e~~ation of the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination.

(A)

Despite these important concessions, the accords represent a tactical retreat by U.S. imperialism, which has failed, at least for the time being, in its major aims: to eliminate the National Liberation Front as an effective political force, to create a stable regime in Saigon capable of guaranteeing capitalist rule throughout the whole of South Vietnam.

Nixon has been forced to withdraw his troops from Vietnam while allowing North Vietnam to leave its forces in the South. The Saigon government is far from stabilized. The liberation forces retain control over a significant section of the South Vietnamese countryside. The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam marks the accomplishment of a long sought-for goal of the Vietnamese struggle, and the world anti-war movement, and restricts the ability of U.S. imperialism to carry out similar interventions in other sectors of the world revolution.

But the real magnitude of the concessions forced from U.S. imperialism must be measured against what could have been won and has not. Thieu remains in power, capitalist social relations have not been overturned, the South Vietnamese peasantry has not gained control over its land, and the Vietnamese people have not won the right of self-determination. **(B)**

The accord recognizes in effect two administrations, that of the NLF/PRG, and that of Thieu, with the relationship of forces favoring the latter. These two governments and two armies are instructed to settle their profound differences through elections. But the regime of militarists, landlords, bankers and millionaire dope peddlers cannot coexist peacefully for any length of time with the revolutionary armies representing the peasants, workers and students. The Thieu regime is already moving out, under the eyes of the Canadian-chaired "International Commission of Control and Supervision", to retake areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. The civil war is certain to continue. The crucial question is, will the liberation forces respond with revolutionary action against Thieu's offensive? Sharply posed

(C)

A. Nature of setback for world revolution; Accords setback for revolution & tactical defeat for imperialism; essence of setback

B. i.e., the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution have not been solved – (dialectic of permanent revolution)

C. Situation of dual power which is irreconcilable!

is the absolute necessity for the emergence and development of a consistently revolutionary vanguard in Vietnam. The actions of the North Vietnamese and PRG leadership in embellishing the terms of the accord, and in engaging in secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism, are not encouraging portents for the future.

(A) The primary responsibility for this setback to the revolution, however, is the colossal betrayal of the Vietnamese liberation fighters by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. Nixon and his predecessors in the White House have carefully gauged the reactions of the workers states prior to and during each successive escalation of their aggression against the revolution. At every stage they have been reassured and emboldened by the cynical indifference of the bureaucratic leaderships. The Soviet Union and China have given only the most minimal material assistance to the beleaguered North Vietnamese workers state, subjected to the most intensive bombing attacks in history -- doling out aid with an eyedropper. Moscow has given more military aid to capitalist Egypt than to
(B) North Vietnam!. China to West Pakistan.

At no stage has either the USSR or China asserted their solidarity with the inviolability of North Vietnamese territory or airspace. On the contrary, each government, vying with the other for U.S. favors, has failed to answer the massive provocations by Washington. The summitry between Washington and Moscow in May 1972, while the U.S. blockaded North Vietnam, escalated its terror bombing and even threatened to use nuclear arms against the Vietnamese, is paralleled in cynicism only by the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939. Moscow could fete Nixon without fear of exposure from Peking, since the latter had carried out the same operation with Nixon a few months previously even while the head of U.S. imperialism continued to bomb North Vietnam.

Both Moscow and Peking have reacted to the signing of the accords in a similar vein. The Peking leadership have greeted them as "a brilliant victory" for the liberation forces, Brezhnev as "a peaceful and just solution," opening "new prospects ... for creating a peaceful, united, democratic Vietnam." Moscow has already issued ominous warnings that it will not tolerate "violations" of the ceasefire accords by any "party" (presumably including the North Vietnamese and PRG) to the accords. Premier Chou En-Lai for his part has hinted that China sees the continued
(C) presence of U.S. forces in Southeast Asia not as a threat to its own territory, but as a "counter" to Soviet influence. .

The bureaucrats of each workers state are guided not by the interests of the world revolution, but by their own narrow nationalist interests.

Thus at the moment of approaching their greatest triumph, a crushing victory over U.S. imperialism and its puppet regime in this year's offensive, the Vietnamese liberation fighters have been confronted with their greatest betrayal, a sellout by their allies in reckless pursuit of accomodation with Washington,

NOTES by Gord D.

A. doubtful about capacity of current leadership of revolutionary forces in Viet Nam to carry out a revolution
B. (as well) China (has given more aid) to West Pakistan
C. Crisis of leadership in revolutionary camp

(A) in the name of peaceful coexistence.

The immediate effect of the Moscow-Peking detente with Washington has been to disarm and demobilize the antiwar movement, ensure Nixon's re-election, and embolden world imperialism to move out in new ways against the working class in attempts to resolve its economic problems.

4) Implications of the Detente

The Washington-Moscow/Peking summits have brought in their wake a series of smaller ones (Brandt's "Ostopolitik", Tokyo's rapprochement with Peking, the "re-unification" talks between the two Koreas, etc.). These political maneuvers accompanying the general rush of the various imperialist powers for major trade agreements with the workers states, have contributed to a general atmosphere of detente, reinforcing popular illusions in the peaceful nature and intentions of world imperialism.

(B) Will the Moscow-Washington detente encompass a concerted attempt at a Middle East settlement? A normalization of relations with Cuba? What are the economic ramifications of the deal? These questions cannot yet be answered; the full scope of the U.S. deals with Moscow and Peking is not yet clear. Nor can the full impact of the detente on world politics yet be assessed. But one thing is certain: imperialism has gained time, and won new flexibility in meeting the political challenges before it.

(C) Imperialism has gained a breathing space. But there is no evidence that it has succeeded in stabilizing its situation in any long-term way.

a) While the revolutionary forces in Indochina have suffered a setback, none of the summits or deals has settled any of the fundamental social problems that generate conflict in the world. The U.S. was forced to seek an accomodation with the Stalinist bureaucrats by i) the political setback to U.S. imperialism in Indochina, ii) the growing economic difficulties of world imperialism, in particular their impact on U.S. capitalism, and iii) the growing pressure on capitalist rulers everywhere of the worldwide radicalization which is only in part inspired by the victories of the Indochinese liberation fighters.

b) The detente does not flow from a general retreat of the world revolution. There have been serious setbacks in the recent period (Ceylon, Bolivia, Sudan, the temporary stabilization of the Indian bourgeois government as a result of its victory in the Indo-Pakistani war, etc.), but (with the important exception of Indonesia, 1965), nothing on the order of the successive, crushing defeats of the revolution -- China, Germany, Spain, France, the Moscow Trials -- that set the stage for the Second Imperialist War of 1939-45.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. ***(notes for additional points to be made)***

B. **betrayal continues into other sectors of the world, i.e., dialectic of tensions in sectors of the world has changed to a new equilibrium**

C. **general world effects have produced a temporary breathing space for U.S. imperialism; 1. social problems unsolved; 2. ideological shift to the left & setbacks are not a defeat**

The current imperialist maneuvers, far from crushing revolutionary movements or workers states, are designed to give ground in order to gain time. Imperialism has yielded significant concessions, e.g. in the diplomatic field, the recognition of China, moves to "normalize" relations with the German Democratic Republic; on the economic front, impending U.S. trade agreements with the USSR and other workers states, etc.

These concessions also result from and encourage the general undermining of cold war sentiments among the masses of the imperialist countries -- depriving imperialism of one of the key weapons it employed for the last twenty-five years to stabilize the class struggle and reinforce its rule. The lessened capacity of the capitalist rulers to use redbaiting and repression is one of the greatest achievements of the recent period of radicalization.

c) Even as imperialism conducts emergency preventative maneuvers to relieve pressure on the key political fronts, the underlying economic contradictions deepening its crisis remain unresolved.

In the late 1960's, the long postwar expansion began to slacken, reflected in recessions of greater scope, intensity and frequency. The simultaneous speedup of inflation (the cost of "concealed" over-production) together with slowed economic growth in a whole series of imperialist countries has precipitated an ongoing crisis in the postwar international monetary system. The de facto devaluation of the U.S. dollar in December 1971 and the accompanying Smithsonian agreements did not resolve this crisis that threatens to undermine international credit and thus the expansion of world trade -- as evidenced by the second devaluation only fourteen months later, in February 1973.

(A) The slowdown of growth, exacerbated by the failure of the market to expand commensurate with the enormous productive capacity of industry (particularly the pace-setting industries of postwar expansion), accentuates inter-imperialist contradictions, intensifying the worldwide search for markets. Measures by some countries such as the United States to protect their domestic markets against growing penetrations from rivals, only aggravate the problems.

The growing international interpenetration of capital has promoted an evening out of levels of productivity and competitiveness among the different imperialist economies, and a lessening margin of monetary and financial maneuver for the various national bourgeoisies, faced with increasing competition from their imperialist rivals.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. ***(notes for additional points)***

d) The increasing problems of world capitalism have set the stage for a general rise of social struggles in the imperialist countries in recent years. The scope and diversity of the phenomenon is illustrated by a few examples -- the 1969 strike wave in Italy, the student-based antiwar movement in the United States, the mass struggles of oppressed nationalities in the U.S., Canada and the British Isles, the militant student movement in West Germany, the anti-Common Market campaigns in Britain, Norway and Denmark, the mounting antidictatorial struggle in Spain, the rise of the feminist consciousness and the women's movement in virtually all countries, etc. The worker-student revolt in France, in May 1968, was at once the most indicative and far-reaching example. For a few days the workers' mobilization put the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the conquest of power on the agenda.

e) If world imperialism has by no means resolved its underlying contradictions, the deformed and degenerated workers states are likewise experiencing continuing instability.

The "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the biggest explosion of revolutionary mass action in Eastern Europe since the October-November 1956 revolution in Hungary, thrusting forward demands for socialist democracy, posing the need for a "return to Lenin", to the workers democracy of the early Soviet state, and bringing the working class into the antibureaucratic struggle as an independent force within the CP and the mass organizations.

The Kremlin succeeded through mass repression in suppressing the Czech movement and in "normalizing" its control. But this has not stopped the spread of the antibureaucratic mass movement to other countries. During the massive workers revolt in Poland in December 1970, striking workers took over entire cities and succeeded in winning and maintaining important gains on the economic level (e.g. price controls). The Polish revolt, likewise raising demands for socialist democracy, was directed against the Communist party leadership -- posing the need for a new, revolutionary political party.

In the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin has been unable to suppress the heroic attempts by oppositionists to publish their views clandestinely, recorded in the spread of "samizdat" literature, and the growing struggle for democracic rights.

Behind these political challenges are the growing economic crises in the workers states. On the economic front the ruling bureaucracy is confronted by the failure

NOTES by Gord D.

A. (additional points needed to be made here)

of hypercentralized bureaucratic planning to maintain economic growth, although this growth still remains superior to the growth rate of capitalist states. On the ideological front, the bureaucracy's failure is much more pronounced. Forced by political pressures to "de-Stalinize," that is, dissociate itself from the "excesses" of Stalinism, it is unable to develop a consistent ideological line to replace the Stalinist doctrine. The result is continuing crisis within the "socialist camp", and between the workers states and the Communist parties of the rest of the world.

Two aspects of the antibureaucratic struggle within the workers states are of particular note: 1) the role of democratic demands, which pose a frontal challenge to the bureaucracy's arbitrary rule (lacking an independent economic base, it is all the more vulnerable to political demands for free speech, the right to demonstrate, etc.); and 2) the role of the nationalities question, a special aspect of the struggle for democracy -- the self-determination struggles of Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Slovaks in Czecholslovakia, etc.

(A)

These developments belie any schema of general reversal of the underlying trends of the past decade, one of general radicalization and ferment. There are elements of profound instability in the present situation, not least the continuing dilemma of U.S. and world imperialism in Southeast Asia, and -- most significant -- the continued thrust forward and deepening of the class struggle in the main imperialist centers.

c) The Worldwide Crisis of Leadership

What we are witnessing today is the reaffirmation of the main historical contradiction of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership. The setbacks to the world revolution -- in Indochina, the Indian subcontinent, the Palestinian resistance, Latin America -- are the result above all of the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalinism, of both Mao and Brezhnev schools. The experience of recent years has also exposed the bankruptcy of Guevarism and the guerrilla war strategy (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, etc.). In the imperialist countries, the **(B)**

NOTES by Gord D.

A. Content of political struggle is around democratic demands (civil liberties & nationalism);
(Notes summarizing additional points to be made at this point in the document)

B. Harsh – not bankruptcy, but inadequacy, failure & in some cases fetishizing to a schema!

leaderships of the traditional workers organizations continue to resist the radicalizing forces now developing. The social-democratic and labor-reformist leaderships continue to manifest the bureaucracy's drift toward increasing integration in the apparatus of the bourgeois state through parliamentary and governmental experience. The mass Stalinist parties in Western Europe remain reformist outposts of the Kremlin.

(A)

A new vanguard layer of young radidals and revolutionary-oriented youth, the advanced elements emerging from the developing social struggles, is grappling with the problems of forming a new, revolutionary alternative leadership.

The Moscow-Peking betrayals do not denote any qualitative change in the nature of the Soviet and Chinese regimes or in their overall orientation (which has consistently been one of vying for accommodation with world imperialism), any more than Nixon's "turn" indicates an end to the imperialist war drive. If in the betrayals of the 1930's the Stalinists were able to strengthen their hold on the workers' movement, today they are betraying a revolutionary process they cannot halt. In general, Moscow-oriented Stalinism long ago lost much of its former attraction for radicalizing youth. Maoism, recently a pole of attraction for many revolutionary-minded youth, is today in general decline as an international current.

However, only a small minority anywhere has broken with reformist illusions. Recent events have indicated anew that imperialism, while confronting increasing difficulties, still enjoys a not inconsiderable margin of maneuver -- and can benefit immensely from the betrayals of Stalinism, the absence of a united and revolutionary leadership in the bloc of workers' states.

(B)

In the absence of a strong world revolutionary leadership which can serve as a viable pole of attraction for the mass of radicalizing elements, reformist options of all types have gained a new lease on life, as seen in many imperialist countries in the recent accession to political office of reformist labor-based parties, or in new alliances between Stalinist and social democrats (e.g. France's Union de la Gauche).

The present developments do not indicate an end to the general forward movement of the world revolution. Rather, far from being confronted by some new turn in the world relationship of forces, it has come up against the limitations imposed by the present configuration of forces within the international working class movement.

These limitations include not only the traditional

NOTES by Gord D.

A. ***(general notes)***

B. Reformism still prevails despite radicalization; betrayals have added resiliency to imperialism; reformism still more attractive because of size; development of revolutionary movement has been temporarily slowed down because of reformism of previous generation and immaturity of present generation.

reformist and neo-reformist leaderships of social democracy and Stalinism, but also the erroneous theories which have developed in the course of the current youth radicalization: Guevarism in Latin America, neo-anarchist terrorism, spontaneism, primitive workerism, ultraleftism in general, which have hindered the consolidation of strong Trotskyist groups with a Marxist program capable of reaching out to the working masses and leading them in anticapitalist struggle.

These false leaderships and theories constitute a serious block to the further qualitative advance of the revolutionary forces. They will be confronted and overcome only on the basis of a principled revolutionary program and strategy.

The reformist leaderships, whatever their conjunctural attractivity to the masses, are of course unable to contain, still less adequately respond to, the challenges posed by the new radicalization. Thus if reformism is the main immediate beneficiary of the current radicalization or rise in class struggles, the shape and thrust of the underlying process continues to present important openings for the revolutionary Marxists' intervention. Most important, we are given valuable time to prepare for the mass revolutionary upsurges of the future, time to build our cadres, to develop the revolutionary mass leaders that can lead the upsurges of the future to victory.

breathing space provides time for consolidation of cadres.

We face today unique and unprecedented possibilities for the construction of the world party of socialist revolution. Among a whole new layer of radicalizing youth, there is a new interest in and sympathy for the ideas and program of Trotskyism as incorporated in the Fourth International. If broad layers of these new youth "vanguards" manifest a certain hesitancy to rush into revolutionary actior, it is largely because they have had unfortunate experiences with ultraleftist and reformist leaderships. Their growing scepticism toward spontaneism, Maoism and other forms of Stalinism is complemented by a deepening interest in and concern for revolutionary Marxist theory as upheld by the international Trotskyist movement. **(A)**

vanguards [illegible] and are attempting to act as Marxists because of the deepening radicalization and [illegible] Marxist theory.

At the same time, there is a continuing tendency to look for shortcuts to bypass the traditional leaderships which retain their influence and power through their base in the conservative consciousness of the working class, its loyalty to its own organizations.

The new revolutionary elements are developing largely independently of the traditional mass organizations of the workers, and in general lack the grounding

NOTES by Gord D.

A. ***(general notes expanding on document statements)***

and experience that can best be gained from adherence to a mass revolutionary party with continuity and developed cadres. The new expressions of the radicalization, their unique features and uneven development, have presented new challenges to th revo utionary Marxists -- to develop demands and tacti hat can gain maximum advantage from every contradiction of capitalist society, which can thrust forward each independent component of the struggle, at the same time linking all together in a consistent integrated strategy for the seizure of power in each country. (A)

i.e. mass action strategy

Posed very sharply is the necessity of a transitional program and strategy for today's movements of struggle -- a period of preparation and cadre-building for mass upsurges of tomorrow. An approach which combines the struggles for democratic demands with transitional and anticapitalist demands -- that is, a strategy which seeks to mobilize the masses in anticapitalist action -- this is what distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International from all other currents, false leaderships and contenders in the workers' movement.

Our success as a world party in assimilating these methods and applying this strategy will determine our prospects for revolutionary advance in the next surge forward.

* * * *

NOTES by Gord D.

A. i.e., mass action strategy

B. The Declining Perspectives of Canadian Capitalism

Imperialist powers face increased economic problems today: heightened international rivalry, shifting trade blocks, continuing turmoil in the international monetary system, rising protectionist pressures, combined with a general slackening in the rate of economic expansion. Based in a country particularly dependent on world trade, Canadian capitalism has special reason for anxiety.

Canada is highly dependent on international trade, exporting some 22 per cent of its Gross National Product -- over two thirds of this amount to the United States. But its trade has grown more slowly than that of its competitors, falling as a percentage of total trade of industrialized countries. In recent years, Canada's competitive position has been undercut by the slow growth in productivity of Canadian industry. During 1965-70, output per worker increased only 1.5 per cent a year, slower than any other advanced capitalist country.

The militancy of Canadian labor has aggravated the threat to Canada's competitive position. The gap between the wages of Canadian and U.S. workers has decreased from 27 per cent to 8 percent over the past ten years. In a period of stiffening competition among imperialist powers, such pressures drive Canadian capitalism to take steps to weaken the workers movement and undercut workers' standard of living, through anti-labor legislation, increased unemployment, speed-up, introduction of new technology, and moves to implement an incomes policy.

Canada's tight trade links with the U.S. have developed together with a series of special relationships -- the free trade agreement in automobiles, the defense production sharing agreement (through which Canadian war manufactureres get their cut of the profits from the Vietnam slaughter), and exemption from measures to improve the U.S. balance of payments. The increasing difficulties of U.S. imperialism have altered this relationship, challenging particular agreements and undertakings between the Canadian and U.S. governments -- and generally increasing pressure on the Canadian bourgeoisie to improve the competitive capacity of Canadian manufacturing.

Recent years have seen some efforts by the Canadian government to promote a diversification of trade. Various projections have been made of possibilities of increasing trade to countries other than the U.S., which presently absorb less than one third of Canadian exports. These efforts are confronted with difficulties -- the extension and firming up of the European Common Market from which Canada is excluded, and the collapse of trading preferences for Canada within the British Commonwealth.

All these factors pressure the Canadian bourgeoisie towards vigorous measures to rationalize Canadian industry, and improve its competitive position, at the expense of the living standards of Canadian workers.

(A)

Beginning in 1969, the Canadian bourgeoisie moved to raise the unemployment level and slow down the increase in wages. Government policies to restrict credit and to reduce government investment in the economy have promoted a high rate of unemployment, presently the highest of any advanced capitalist country. Bourgeois economists count on increased unemployment to slow wage increases by dividing the working class and increasing competition for jobs. These policies have served to increase class antagonisms in Canada, without appreciably improving the competitive position of the Canadian economy. A high unemployment rate required increased unemployment insurance payments if there was not to be a dangerous increase in social discontent -- which in turn called forth unpopular tax increases. Unemployment has been concentrated among youth and in Quebec, increasing discontent in two already volatile sections of the population.

Price inflation was held to 4.8 percent a year up to mid-1971, the lowest inflation rate among the larger imperialist powers before Nixon's wage freeze. But the deflationary steps undertaken to achieve this, squeezed profit margins and produced a general slakening of investment. The relatively stable Canadian dollar came into demand on world money markets, driving up its exchange rate and cancelling out much of the gains in prospect for exporters through a slower rate of price increases. In the last 18 months, the rate of inflation has mounted once more.

The Canadian state has assumed a greater role both in intervening in the economy to buttress corporate profits and as a repressive instrument of class rule.

(B)

The state's massive direct role in the economy is reflected in the rise of total government revenues for all levels of government from an amount equivalent to 19 per cent of the Gross National Product in 1939 to 39 per cent in 1968. About half of government expenditures is termed "transfer payments" -- interest on the public debt and handouts and subsidies to corporate giants, combined with welfare payments to cushion the social impact of capitalism's worst ravages. The other half, goods and services such as education and health, comprises a growing direct government sector in the economy as well as an important market for private corporations.

This powerful economic machinery is used to manipulate the economy in the interests of the monopolies (attempts to establish "favorable" inflation rates, unemployment rates,

NOTES by Gord D.

A. Trudeau's tightening of economy was designed to 1. increase unemployment & 2. decrease influence (of working class). Result was an increase in social antagonisms (also) a concomitant decrease in labor combativity & a slowing down of economic growth & eventual influence because of world economic pressures.

B. role of Can. State in relation to capital & labor

rates of growth) and direct subsidy to guarantee monopoly profits. The burden of this expenditure has been shifted more and more directly to the working class. Corporations pay less than 10 per cent of the total tax bill today, compared to 19 per cent in 1949. This hard reality underlies the response -- the hostility of the bourgeoisie and the receptivity of the working class -- to NDP leader David Lewis's attacks on the tax system and on "corporate welfare bums" in the 1972 federal election campaign.

The capitalist state is increasing its pressure on the workers' organizations, through legislation restricting strike rights and the use of the courts through injunctions -- seen most graphically in the jailing of the three top union leaders in Quebec for contempt of court during the April 1972 strike of public service workers in Quebec. The threat of wage controls, warded off to this point by the opposition of labor, also grows more acute, particularly with the successful application of wage control measures in the U.S.

In summary, the impact of increased competition among imperialist powers on Canadian capitalism increases its need to strike out against the living standards and democratic rights of the workers. These developments set the stage for major class battles, in which the role of the capitalist state will tend to bring political questions sharply to the fore.

* * * *

C. Growth of Labor Militancy

The 1968 Political Resolution, written when the depth and extent of the current radicalization was not yet evident, projected increasing class conflict in the following terms:

"With the growing problems of world imperialism, the economic dilemma of capitalism will grow more pronounced, the recessions more menacing. The labor struggle, the protests of youth, the national struggle of the Quebecois, can quickly gather strength under such circumstances, pressed forward by the force of all the accumulated grievances of the working people of Canada."

In line with the projection of the 1968 resolution, the last four years have seen a marked rise of class struggles across Canada, and the beginnings of a generalized radicalization of Canadian society.

The rising labor militancy noted in 1968 has continued, recorded in the uneven but generally upward trend in the number of worker-days lost in strikes. It reached a new peak in the Quebec labor upheaval of April-May 1972. The resistance

to date of the labor brass to wage control threats is a reflection in part of this pressure from the ranks. At the same time there has been an increase in internal conflicts in the unions, reflecting the growing restiveness in the ranks. Power struggles have shaken many important locals; in other areas struggles have taken the form of a search for a new organizational framework, as sometimes in attempts to promote Canadian union autonomy or outright breakaways from the international unions. These conflicts have not as a rule developed around the presentation of a class struggle or antibureaucratic program.

There has been a gradual though uneven deepening of the NDP's roots in the labor movement, particularly marked in some of the semi-"professional" or white-collar layers not encompassed by previous waves of union organization. A series of provincial and federal elections have produced a mixed pattern: the NDP holding its own (Ontario, federal elections) or making important gains (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia).

Increasing labor militancy has not produced widespread politicization, or radicalization in the trade unions, even in Quebec the political ferment in the unions has touched only narrow layers. As yet the unions have not broken from the mould set in the previous period of radicalization, when Canada's great industrial unions were organized and consolidated -- and along with them was consolidated a bureaucracy and a web of restrictive legislation to hold them in check.

However, the great struggles of Quebec labor have shown how the impact of the radicalization now underway, combined with the decreasing flexibility of the ruling class, can break the unions out of this mould and launch them forward in campaigns of great dynamism and revolutionary potential.

Today's labor force is changing rapidly in composition, reflecting important changes in capitalist economy. As a result of the penetration of large-scale capitalist industry into agriculture, only a very small proportion of the Canadian population is now engaged in agricultural production -- barely 5 per cent, or one quarter fewer farming operations than 10 years ago. The vast majority of Canadians live in large cities.

There has been a large increase in the number of skilled and semi-skilled salaried workers in technical, administrative, service and educational fields -- resulting from the massive re-integration of intellectual labor into the productive process under postwar capitalism, and the greatly increased intervention of the capitalist state in the economy. Many of these sectors are unorganized, or only recently organized. They are often lower paid than industrial workers organized during the previous radicalization. They represent

generally better educated, and younger sectors of the work force. In British Columbia, for instance, of a labor force of just under one million, nearly 200,000 workers have some post-secondary education. These are the fastest-growing sectors of the work force, and also those sectors where the labor movement is making the most rapid gains. There has been a considerable erosion in these layers of formerly entrenched "professionally," i.e., anti-union and anti-working class, prejudices. Here too, Quebec, with its powerful array of "white collar" unions launching last spring's public workers' strike, is showing the Canadian labor movement the image of its future.

1) Capitalist Rationalization and the Crisis of Labor Leadership

Plant closures, rising prices and taxes, high unemployment and threats of wage controls have created growing unease among workers. Yet the bureaucracy that controls the unions has proved unable to project a strategy to defend the trade unions or workers' living standards. Accepting capitalist rationalization, the trade union brass have failed to mount a struggle against closures and layoffs. With few exceptions (Quebec, some locals in B.C.) they have done little to organize the unemployed or unorganized -- especially those sectors where women, young workers, immigrants and national minorities are concentrated.

Under their leadership the rise in real wages has not kept pace with rising productivity, slowing in recent years almost to a standstill. The Canadian Labor Congress leadership expresses support for an "incomes policy" lending credence to bourgeois advocates of wage freeze or controls.

In general, the trade union leadership has been slow to incorporate the needs and demands of women, youth, national minorities -- the most exploited layers of the working class -- into their contract demands, and have given at best verbal support to independent struggles of these layers. They have confined their struggles against legal restraints on the unions to the parliamentary plane, relying on electoralism through the NDP. They supported government trusteeship of the Seafarers' International Union, and parliamentary strike-breaking against the railraod workers, longshoremen, etc.

2) The New Democratic Party and the Crisis of Leadership

The workers' bureaucracy is not incapable of far-reaching action to defend its social base. In English Canada it has been obliged to move out on the political plane in advance of its counterparts in affiliated international unions in the United States by setting up the New Democratic Party, a labor party based on, largely financed by, and ultimately accountable to the trade unions.

(A) The NDP is above all the product of the restricted margin of maneuver of the trade union bureaucracy in Canada relative to the U.S. The greater tensions of class struggle, flowing from the narrower economic base of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the stiff competition Canadian industry faces from more powerful imperialist neighbors (in the first place the U.S.) required the trade union brass to manufacture a political instrument which could pressure the bourgeoisie on the political level.

The New Democratic Party is a labor party, both in terms of its close and organic ties to the organized labor movement of English Canada, and because of its character as the sole political mass organization of the working class. The NDP is the present expression of the political class consciousness of the working class -- the elemental understanding that parallel to the economic struggle of the trade unions, a political struggle must be conducted against the parties of the bosses. In this way the NDP poses to the class the need of replacing the government of the capitalists with a workers government.

(B) For workers in the first stages of developing class consciousness, the NDP is a pole of attraction, a political expression of their economic struggle, posing the need for a workers' government. It plunges these workers into politics, even if only on the electoralist level, and introduces questions of political program into the trade unions. In addition, the NDP has been a meeting place for diverse currents of left politics in Canada, where the new forces set in motion by the radicalization of recent years have been able to make contact with the realities of the politics of the labor movement.

No significant layer of the working class stands outside the NDP to its left. The influence of the Communist Party in the working class has been reduced nearly to zero. Despite significant internal battles of recent years, and the exit of the Waffle leadership, **(C)** no significant layer of left militants in the NDP has left the party to set up a left-wing rival formation. The NDP program, though it betrays the real interests of the working class, remains in advance of the consciousness of the majority of the working class.

(D) The NDP confronts the bourgeoisie with a substantial problem. It is a labor party contending for parliamentary power. It has established roots in the consciousness of a considerable and growing layer of the working class. It holds governmental office in three provinces and is a powerful opposition in Ontario. It limits the bourgeoisie's ability to move against the working class, to restrict its power through the legislature and the courts.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. NDP is a political instrument of the trade union bureaucracy B. extravagant claim of objective character of NDP -- It merely poses independent political action on part of working class; it poses not plunges – politics are reformist & question of political program is really posed by revolutionaries, unless you think electioneering is political activity & "send more New Democrats to parliament" is program

C. Is MISC *(Waffle forces after expulsion from NDP)* irrelevant or right-wing?

D. posed as if the bourgeoisie ere confronted with a revolutionary challenge. Reformist betrayal – right wing (see last election results)

(A) This is in formal contradiction to the previous paragraph

The New Democratic Party has been shaped and built by an experienced and now well-entrenched social-democratic leadership, petty-bourgeois in its social character, and pro-capitalist in its political orientation. This leadership's outlook is one of gradual, piecemeal, parliamentary reform of capitalism, combined with readiness to rally to the defense of Canadian capitalism against any radical challenge, and utilize the NDP, in such situations, to support and implement measures of a blatent anti-labor character.

This leadership is rooted in, and ultimately responsible to the trade union bureaucracy, a social layer mired in privilege and the conservatism it engenders, lacking confidence in the fighting capacities of the movement it leads, overawed by the power and pretensions of the ruling class, and eager to defend the status quo against any revolutionary challenge which would endanger its comfortable privileged position. At the same time, this bureaucracy must defend the labor movement, its social base, against the attacks of the ruling class, and undercut internal opposition to the extent possible by "delivering the goods" -- winning concessions and reforms both on the economic and political level.

(B) In practice we did little to pose LSA. Cf. issues of L.C. which make right adaptation, etc.

The allegiance of the overwhelming bulk of the politically conscious layers of the working class to the NDP's pro-capitalist leadership and program stands as a fundamental barrier to revolutionary action. Overcoming this barrier is the central strategic problem of revolutionary Marxists in English Canada.

The NDP cannot be "reformed"; it cannot become the instrument for socialist victory in Canada. This requires nothing less than a Leninist party, with a revolutionary Marxist program and a democratic centralist organizational structure, a party which can only be built on the program and cadres of the Fourth International. It will be built in the struggle against the reformism of the NDP and trade union leadership -- a struggle which now unfolds on the political plane in and around the NDP, and which will continue in the coming period to maintain the NDP as its frame of reference.

Revolutionary Marxists support the NDP as the elemental class alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie, while giving no support to its reformist program and leadership. They join the NDP, and intervene in it, in order to go through the experience of struggle against reformism in the NDP along with the working class, to participate in the battles and political differentiation which takes place within the NDP, to promote the building of a class struggle caucus, and win forces to the revolutionary vanguard organization.

(C) See Mark Gans article in Labor Challenge

The identification of the trade unions with the NDP has tended to increase over time. The NDP's voting base continues

NOTES by Gord D.

A. This is in formal contradiction to the previous paragraph

B. In practice, we did little to pose LSA. Compare issues of Labor Challenge which make right adaptation, etc.

C. See Mark Gans article in Labor Challenge

to shift from rural areas to urban centers, and to concentrate in working class ridings. The NDP's support has grown particularly in layers now moving into the organized labor movement: white collar workers, teachers, etc. -- and the teachers' organizations played an important role in the NDP win in British Columbia.

But the reformist program of the NDP stands in constant contradiction to the fundamental needs of the class, which demand mass anticapitalist action, guided by a class struggle perspective and a socialist program, aimed not at the reform of capitalism but at its overthrow.

This contradiction finds daily expression in the NDP's inability to defend adequately the immediate interests of the class . In this period effective defense of the trade unions and the workers' interests can only be conducted around a class struggle program of democratic and transitional demands which together mobilize and unite the working class in struggle directed against the very basis of capitalist privilege and class rule. The central contradiction of the NDP is that its program and leadership are reformist, while the tasks before the class are revolutionary.

(A) platitudinous - this doesn't really tell us what to do.

But the bureaucracy must also "deliver the goods" to the ranks, win real gains from the bosses. This becomes increasingly difficult in a capitalist economy with declining prospects and a bourgeoisie oriented towards attempting to restore its economic equilibrium at the expense of the working class. This accounts for the increasing signs of tension between the trade union leadership and the union ranks. These tensions will tend to find expression within the NDP where they will take on a political form.

(B) What tensions? Where are they manifest?

The NDP embraces the politicized working class. Not only does it reflect the radicalization now beginning in certain layers of the working class, but it is bound to express the struggle for a new leadership which the radicalization will pose and promote.

this was the impression of the Waffle at the Autopact conference

The rise of the left-wing Waffle caucus in the NDP after 1968 demonstrated the potential for building a class struggle opposition to the reformist leadership. The right wing was able to turn back the Waffle attack, in large measure due to the errors and ultimately the desertion of the Waffle leadership. But the more fundamental reason for the Waffle's non-success was that the youth radicalization which sparked it, and provided its shock troops, occurred prior to a radicalization in the labor movement of the scope required to shake the power base of the leadership. Mounting class struggles, accompanied by a diminishing flexibility and capacity to grant concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie, will speed such a radicalization, which will find expression both in rank-and-file opposition currents in the unions, and in opposition formations in the NDP, which can develop deep roots in the labor base of the party.

(C)

but MISC has demonstrated NDP's ability to develop a radicality in terms of those coming to Marxism.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. platitudinous (statement); this doesn't really tell us what to do

B. What tensions? Where are they manifest? This was the impression of the Waffle at the Autopact Conference

C. Nothing about the radicalization of MISC – Marxist ideas. But MISC has demonstrated NDP's ability to develop a radicalization in terms of those coming to Marxism

D. The New Radicalization: New Developments in the Class Struggle

We are today in the first stages of a deepgoing process of radicalization, in which ever-wider layers of the population are beginning to question the assumptions, norms and shibboleths of this society, to search for alternative values and courses of action, and to move into action against their oppression and exploitation.

The objective roots of this radicalization of consciousness are located in the class contradictions of capitalist society. The new forms of the class struggle -- Quebec nationalism, feminism, the student movement, etc. -- all originate in the conditions of contemporary capitalism. The objectives raised by these radicalizing layers -- of the Quebecois for national liberation, of women for an end to their oppression as a sex, of students for an educational system that serves human progress, not profits, are all incapable of being realized under capitalism. (A)

This radicalization is characterized by unique features which distinguish it from previous periods of radicalization, and which in turn reflect the peculiar characteristics of capitalism today. For example, the industrial unions thrown up by the previous upsurge are today dominated by a conservative-minded, privileged bureaucracy that is generally hostile to the expressions of the current radicalization.

Thus, while the current radicalization is reflected within the New Democratic Party and, to a lesser extent, in the trade unions, its leading edge has developed independently of the traditional working class organizations and the labor-NDP bureaucracy in English Canada. In 1968 we could not fully foresee the diversity of forms this radicalization would take. Our political resolution could only sketch the main driving forces, and point to the leading role of the industrial working class in carrying the movement forward to successful conclusion in socialist revolution. (B)

Experience has shown how a radicalization proceeds unevenly. Some layers of the population, never before mobilized, are now stirring and moving boldly into action before the main batalions of organized labor taken into new motion by the radicalization. The working class is not monolithic. Composed of many layers, experiencing different degrees of exploitation and oppression, it does not radicalize in the same way or at the same rate.

Nor does this radicalization simply repeat the patterns of previous radicalizations, or start where the postwar wave of union organizing and class struggles left off. Many of the unique features of this radicalization are precisely its strongest, most dynamic points. (C)

NOTES by Gord D.

A. Canadian nationalism! *(omitted)*

B. e.g. MISC (which we should have appealed to join the League)

C. e.g. anti-U.S. imperialists & Canadian nationalist sentiment

1) The Quebecois National Struggle

A feature of this radicalization is the **national** struggle of the Quebecois: a struggle aimed against the integrity of the Canadian capitalist state, Confederation, in a powerful movement of more than one-quarter of the present population of Canada for political independence, an end to their national oppression. The national struggle has already mobilized all classes in Quebec society, including the working class, the vast majority, and has put socialism on the agenda for a small, but growing, minority.

A general phenomenon in the advanced capitalist countries today is the rise within their borders of oppressed nationalities and nations, many of them long thought dead, but revived and propelled forward by the massive and growing contradictions of monopoly capitalism. The failure of the dominant bourgeoisie in its period of ascendancy to assimilate lesser nationalities over whom it rose to power has today turned into a new and often powerful challenge to its authority and rule. The chain of capitalism breaks first at its weakest link, and in Canada the weakest link of bourgeois rule is its national oppression of the Quebecois.

Despite a high level of industrialization, urbanization and productivity, the Quebec nation has never completed its bourgeois-democratic revolution. Such tasks as the establishment of a national language, the breaking free of foreign rule and foreign imperialist domination remain to be accomplished. The struggle for these national tasks is historically progressive, and, in the epoch of imperialist decay, can only be accomplished under the leadership of the working class through a socialist revolution.

Thus the nationalist consciousness in Quebec flows from a real and profound oppression of the nation, reflected in the superexploitation of workers, and also in the language discrimination and the lack of self-determination experienced by the nation as a whole.

As long as the federal regime remains the mainstay of capitalist rule in Quebec, the struggle for self-determination will remain a central part of the struggle for emancipation.

The national movement for these goals goes through ebbs and flows. It can remain under bourgeois leadership for lengthy periods. Imperialism can grant substantial concessions or even deal out severe defeats, which can lead to lengthy periods of lull. Nevertheless, the movement is struggling for goals which cannot be attained under capitalism or without a working-class leadership. In this sense, it is an anti-capitalist movement, it possesses a revolutionary dynamic.

cold i.e. Independence

NOTE on a point of contention on Quebec by Gord D.
A. e.g. "cold" independence

The progressive character of Quebec nationalism has been demonstrated concretely in recent years. The profound and increasing national consciousness has served to accelerate the impact on each social layer of structural and superstructural changes. The belated educational reform of the 1960s (establishment of a Ministry of Education, creation of junior colleges, vast expansion of university facilities), was accompanied by a student movement whose dynamism and scope was unparalleled elsewhere in Canada -- a leading generator of nationalist consciousness. The massive entry into the work force of women -- in Quebec doubly or triply oppressed -- has challenged the discrimination and many of the most deeply rooted prejudices fostered and sustained by the church and other traditional institutions. Above all, the rapid, recent growth of trade unions, particularly in the public sector and teaching professions, confronting the national bourgeoisie, has increased class tensions and radicalized many thousands of Quebecois workers. The national struggle in Quebec, far from cutting across class conflict and subordinating struggles to the interests of "unity of the nation", has acted as an accelerator or catalyzer of class conflicts, exposing the internal class divisions in the nation. **(A)** national struggle as catalyst for class struggle

The workers' struggle has brought them into conflict not only with the oppressive federal regime, but also its local agents in the Quebec government. In 1964, Premier Lesage arrogantly dismissed government workers' initial attempts to organize trade unions: "The Queen does not negotiate with her subjects." In April 1972, the Quebec government was the virtual hostage of those same "subjects" as close to one-third of total union membership in Quebec -- recently organized workers, low-paid but relatively skilled and educated, over half of them women -- went on strike against the government.

Some economic demands of the April public sector strike, such as the $100 minimum wage, struck at Quebec's low-wage status, a feature of its national oppression. The strike revealed the fighting militancy of the new labor movement; a Common Front of the three main labor centrales was locked in struggle against the "gouvernement-patron" (boss-government) -- a powerful political experience for Quebec labor.

The May upsurge in response to the jailing of the Common Front leaders demonstrated the militancy of private sector workers, the widespread sympathy in Quebec with the public sector workers, the resentment and indignation at the Bourassa government's resistance to their demands. The question was posed: could this government placate the demands of the mobilizing workers within the spending priorities and budget restrictions imposed by Ottawa and the federal regime? **(B)** meaning of the Common Front

NOTES by Gord D.

A. national struggle as catalyst for class struggle

B. *(a point of contention re Quebec labor):* meaning of the Common Front

(A) of objective character of Quebec trade union leadership

The radicalization of Quebec labor is also manifested in the political debates within the trade union movement. The anticapitalist manifestoes drafted by the leaderships of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and the Quebec Teachers' Union (CEQ) reflect the lesser margin of maneuver for the labor bureaucracy in Quebec where national oppression limits the social surplus and consequently the relative privileges of a labor aristocracy, while at the same time it creates a climate of discontent within the entire society and radicalizes the working class. While presenting a far-reaching critique of the operations of the imperialist corporations in Quebec, and in at least one instance denouncing business unionism, the manifestoes take an ambivalent approach toward the capitalist state, and fail to project a strategy for anticapitalist struggle.

The publication of the manifestoes, their discussion in the labor movement, provide important openings for the revolutionary socialists, and serve to enlarge the debate over political action within the working class.

If national oppression accelerates the class conflict within Quebec society, it is no less true that as the class struggle intensifies, national struggles and national demands do not disappear -- but may well come to the fore as key mobilizing issues in the workers' movement.

The revolution in Quebec is conceivable only as that process whereby the working class sets itself at the head of all the oppressed layers within the nation. This means the working class must take the leadership of the nationalist movement and lead it on a revolutionary course. The revolutionary Marxists are the most thorough-going and most consistent fighters for the national liberation of Quebec.

(B) relationship between class struggle & nationalism

It is false to think that as the working class radicalizes it will go beyond nationalism, or that it will less and less advance nationalist demands. On the contrary, its militancy remains imbued with nationalist consciousness, and it presses forward to contest for the leadership of the nationalist movement. This process has already begun in Quebec, where the radicalization of the labor movement has led it to deepen its involvement in the national struggle. In recent years, the FTQ and CSN have called for recognition of Quebec's right to self-determination; the CEQ has declared in convention for independence. All three labor bodies favor a unilingual French Quebec.

The importance within the labor movement of the struggle for French as the language of work and schooling -- a major issue in the national revolt of the Quebecois, for language is key to their definition as a nation and national

NOTES on points of contention by Gord D.
A. Objective character of Quebec trade union leadership
B. Relationship between class struggle & nationalism

consciousness -- indicates that workers do not radicalize solely around economic demands or struggles. Language is an explosive issue, for in Quebec, dominated by the English-Canadian state, exploited by foreign imperialist capital, the demand for a "French Quebec" inevitably and directly raises the question of who should control Quebec. And since there can be no Quebec for the Quebecois that is not a socialist Quebec, the concept of a French Quebec has an essentially anticapitalist thrust.

Thus, part of the radicalization of the labor movement has been the trade unions' greater attention to and intervention in the nationalist movement, primarily around the language question. The Mouvement Quebec Francais (MQF), established on the initiative of the petty-bourgeois Mouvement National des Quebecois (formerly the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society), includes the three main labor centrales together with the farmers' union and several other nationalist organizations.

If the working class has moved forward in the national struggles, the major strategic weakness of the labor movement, preventing it from taking the political initiative in all struggles of the Quebecois masses, is the absence of a political instrument of the class -- a mass workers' party.

problems & tactics of a labor party

The hostility of the English-Canadian labor party, the NDP, to Quebec self-determination has cut it off from major influence in Quebec. The failure of the labor bureaucracy to break from brokerage politics with the traditional bourgeois parties and establish an indigenous labor party with a nationalist platform allowed the emergence of the Parti Quebecois, a bourgeois but independentist party with mass support. Lacking a developed class consciousness, the mass of politicized workers in Quebec see the solution to their problems largely in terms of Quebec's winning "sovereignty". Because the PQ is nationalist, they do not see it as bourgeois.

(A)

Substantial sectors of the leadership support the PQ, either openly or implicitly: they see it as a "parti de rechange" (alternative party), a legislative counterweight to the Liberal party which has forfeited their support. The PQ leadership, which predicates its hopes for a "normal" bourgeois Quebec state on the prospect of a "cold" independence (achieved without mass struggle or confrontation with Quebec's imperialist masters), needs the electoral support of the workers. The relationship between the trade unions and the PQ, however, is not like that between the unions and the NDP in English Canada. The PQ is not controlled by the unions; it is not financed by them or responsible to them. This is an alliance at the top -- formed out of the mutual self-interest of the labor brass and the PQ leadership, their

differences between PQ & NDP

A. NOTES on Quebec questions by Gord D.

common fear of the independent mass movement. It is a contradictory and unstable alliance, given the different class basis of its components.

If the May 1972 upsurge revealed the combativity of Quebec workers, it also exposed the labor bureaucracy's lack of a political strategy to lead the movement forward -- and hence the vulnerability of the workers' movement to victimization from the bourgeoisie and relatively conservative elements in the trade union bureaucracy (formation of the CSD - Confederation des Syndicats Democratiques -- the right-wing splitoff from the CSN).

While the objective possibilities for revolutionary upsurges are nowhere greater in North America, the main obstacle in Quebec remains: the lack of an alternative revolutionary class struggle leadership.

(A)

The main strategic task before Quebec labor today is to strike out along the path of independent labor political action, through construction of a labor party based on the trdde unions. Such a party must be independentist, in accord with the framework of development of the class struggle in Quebec. And it must project and campaign around a class struggle program which includes all demands flowing out of the mass struggle against Quebec's national oppression. Since the national struggle is directed primarily against the oppression by the Canadian state, a mass workers' prty in Quebec would, of necessity, seek ways to link its struggle with the class struggles of English-Canadian workers as it develops.

Such a party will not develop through the Parti Quebecois, but will be forged out of struggles against the PQ in the trade unions and in the mass nationalist movement.

2) The Youth Radicalization

(B)

A common feature of the current radicalization in both English Canada and Quebec -- as indeed worldwide -- is the radicalization of youth.

Two deep processes -- the crisis of world imperialism focused in Vietnam, and the changed role of the university in bourgeois society -- have coincided, giving rise to a layer of political-minded youthful activists, deeply alienated from capitalism, with no experience with previous radicalizations (their lessons or defeats), outside the workers' movement and the influence of the major tendencies in the workers' movement (social democrats and Stalinists of the Moscow variety), interested in ideas and quick to take action and to generalize their experiences.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. contradictions between maturity of objective forces & immaturity of working-class leadership; *(a labor party)* independentist, labor-based, linked up to English Canadian working class

B. i.e., we must counterpose labor party to independentists in PQ !!
objective characterization of youth radicalization – underlying dynamic

A major theme of the youth radicalization is struggles of an antiwar, antiracist or generally democratic character. In addition to the broad political issues, students struggle against the contradictions of the bourgeois university in the post-war epoch, as well as around cultural questions. The youth radicalization has an anti-authoritarian bent and an openness to the questioning of all taboos.

forms of developing consciousness

(A)

role of youth in constructing vanguard party

The youth radicalization bears great significance for revolutionaries in Canada as it does around the world. A volatile mass social layer in transition, capable of the most audacious steps in action and thought, youth act as a source point for the awakening of other social layers. Students can act as a transmission belt for radical thought and experience into the newer layers of the working class where many of them are headed. Youth are the layer in Canada most open at this time to revolutionary socialist concepts and program. The youth radicalization has already proven to be a rich source for the construction of the revolutionary party in Canada.

(B)

in practice YS/LJS has become less a pole of attraction for rev. youth.

The revolutionary socialists have intervened in this radicalization through the creation and building of a revolutionary socialist and democratic centralist student and youth organization, the YS/LJS. (This is the course recommended in the document submitted to the 1969 World Congress by the United Secretariat, "The Worldwide Radicalization of Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International.") The building of an independent revolutionary socialist youth organization is a result not of the unique features of the present youth radicalization -- these only heighten its importance and its possibilities for growth and cadre training -- but rather the application of the important lessons acquired by the Communist International on the importance of independent organs for youth.

The YS/LJS has correctly centered its intervention in the student arena and more precisely on the central political issues of the day as they are raised in the student milieu -- the NDP, Vietnam, Quebec, women's liberation, etc.

(C)

strategy of the Red University

Based on its own experience and on the experience of the Fourth International, the YS/LJS has successfully linked the struggle for student needs to the broader issues of the class struggle through the "Red University" strategy. This strategy avoids the reformist error of attempting to limit the student movement to purely university issues. It avoids the ultra-left and sectarian errors of abandoning or downplaying student issues or even rejecting the campus altogether to "serve the people" or "go to the factories", etc.

The Red University concept has found mass expression in

NOTES by Gord D.
A. Forms of developing (youth) consciousness); the role of youth in constructing the vanguard party
B. In practice, *(our)* YS/LJS has become less & less a pole of attraction for the revolutionary youth
C. strategy of the Red University

Canada. The mass occupation of the CEGEP by up to 50,000 Quebecois students in 1968 for jobs, loans and facilities was aimed at the Quebec government. Using the occupied schools as organizing centers, the students carried classes, mass meetings and demonstrations. They found widespread response in the working class. Later the schools became organizing centers for the massive McGill Francais demonstration of 10,000, and the same pattern was repeated in the struggle against Bill 63 when students and workers linked up in mass actions to defend the French language.

(A)

In English Canada the best example was the Amchitka actions. The students in B.C., above all the high school students, organized in their schools and mobilized a demonstration of 12,000 in Vancouver. It was chiefly this action which paved the way for a later action in which the students were supported by a work stoppage of 30,000 B.C. workers called by the B.C. Federation of Labor -- the first political work stoppage in B.C. for decades. This strategy has found other expressions: the anti-war movement's struggle to "get the warmakers off campus", the struggle of Acadien students for schools that serve the Acadien nationality, the struggle by Native people for control of their schools, and the growing demand for women's studies departments with full accreditation.

However, while it is rich with revolutionary promise, the youth radicalization is not without important weaknesses. Many youth radicals, reacting against the old official working class tendencies (social democrats and Stalinists), they initially reject Marxism too, seeking instead some new ideological basis and in the process largely resurrecting primitive notions found wanting at the earlier stages of the class struggle. The student radicals are heavily influenced by pragmatism which leads them to impressionism and opportunism or becomes an excuse for adventurism. In place of democratic centralism (which they distrust as a result of Stalinism) they have experimented with "participatory democracy". A marked tendency exists in the student radical movement to substitute propaganda of the deed for patient and persistent organization of revolutionary forces.. Many have failed to recognize, or have denied the decisive role of the Leninist combat party. They have been unable to explain Stalinism or often to understand the nature and revolutionary capacity of the working class. In North America, in particular the negative influence of the "hippie" movement -- utopianism, petty bourgeois escapism, and its indirect reflection in anarchist philosophy and tactics has played a considerable role.

(B)

While the student radicalization, especially in Quebec, is broad, the organized student movement has remained relatively limited. It has suffered above all from a lack

NOTES by Gord D.

A. example of anti-U.S. sentiment leading to anti-capitalist struggle and becoming even more refined into a Canadian nationalist sentiment; where is the Y.S. in terms of "Americanization" & of campus war research?

B. character of Quebec student movement

of leadership, or misleadership; the weight of revolutionary socialist youth in the student movement has remained small.

Today the student movement is re-emerging. Struggles have broken out against the educational cutbacks. Attempts have been made to build local, provincial and even Canada-wide student organizations. While in every case these new organizations are dominated initially by reform oriented students, the YS and the LJS have been able to intervene to win support for anti-war, women's liberation and French-language actions.

If the twin errors of reformism and ultra-leftism are to be avoided in this new phase of the student movement, a program of demands that mobilizes students in struggle against the capitalist state and links them in struggle with the working class must be advanced. This is the program embodied in the Red University strategy, the program of the YS/LJS.

3) The Second Wave of Feminism

Growing out of the contradictions of capitalist society, other layers of the population are mobilizing in their own name, around their own demands, in struggles that challenge some of the most cherished institutions, myths and beliefs of this society. One of the most significant is the women's liberation movement -- the second wave of feminism in this century.

feminism is radical

This feminist movement (the term "feminism" signifies awareness by women of their common oppression as a sex and of the need to struggle against that oppression) has mobilized women from all ages and social classes and profoundly affected the thinking of many more who have not yet moved into action. It has already had an important impact on the workers' movement.

objective roots of feminism

The new rise of feminism flowed out of the general radicalization in the late 60s, affecting growing layers of society. More fundamentally, this independent women's movement arises from changes in women's material conditions in contemporary capitalism -- in particular, the increasing number of women in the work force, and the much greater number of women now attending post-secondary educational institutions. The movement is fed by the growing consciousness of the enormous contradiction between woman's increasing (although still restricted) role in remunerated labor and, on the other hand, her subordinate, oppressed status as unpaid household worker and her role as wife and mother. It is also inspired by the glaring contrast between the technological possibilities to control childbirth and to ease and redistribute the tasks

of childrearing and household maintenance, and the ongoing reality of the drudgery and isolation imposed by the nuclear family and the denial of women's right to control their own bodies and lives.

The feminist movement of today -- in the issues it raises, its independent organization, the breadth of its popular appeal -- challenges and repudiates the most fundamental and sacrosanct social norms and institutions of class society:-- family, church; sexual norms, the alleged biological inferiority of women, etc.

anticapitalist dynamic of women's liberation

The economic, social and ideological dependency of bourgeois society on the oppression of women as a sex gives the new feminist movement a deep-going anticapitalist dynamic: women cannot liberate themselves within the framework of capitalist property relations. It is implicitly challenging the entire status quo of women's oppression, and, to an increasing extent, the social system that sustains it.

roots of women's oppression in relations to capitalist property & social

Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family which under capitalism shifts the costs of reproduction of the labor force onto the workers, and plays a leading role in conditioning children for the capitalist labor market. The isolated family unit confronts women as a prison where they toil without pay -- economically dependent on and socially subordinated to the male "head of the household" on whose meager wage the family depends. The increasing proportion of women who work face an entrenched system of sexual discrimination on the job, added to the burdens of their role in the family. The narrow horizons of household drudgery and childrearing are the "calling" towards which women are channelled from early childhood -- a "destiny" which the feminist movement, in its very logic, rejects.

transitional program for feminism — what & what

The major demands of the feminist movement, reflecting the different aspects of women's oppression, provide a starting point for the elaboration of a transitional program for women's liberation. They include equal wages, equal rights in the work force and throughout society, free 24-hour child care controlled by the community, and the right to safe, legal abortion. All these demands challenge fundamental aspects of women's oppression.

dynamic of abortion struggle

The struggle for repeal of anti-abortion laws has brought women up against the most powerful institutions of capitalist society -- the state with its criminal code, courts, police, etc., and the church, the ideological superstructure. The abortion struggle promises to be an important battle of the feminist movement.

While the organized feminist movement is still quite small, and centered largely among youth and student women,

Highlight NOTES by Gord D.

feminist consciousness has had a major impact on women workers. Union women organized in a struggle to get discrimination on the grounds of sex barred under the Ontario Human Rights Code. Several unions, such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) have been forced to document the discrimination against women in their own structures and take modest (and so far inadequate) measures to combat it. Many strike struggles recently have highlighted women's unequal status, and their growing struggle against it (e.g., Quebec public workers' strike).

what about our experience in this milieu? – then the Waffle

Above all, the women's movement has borne down on the New Democratic Party, bringing the feminist program directly into the political arm of the labor movement, giving feminism a valuable political focus. In many provinces the NDP has formally identified with the key demands of the women's movement. It has been forced to support the abortion law repeal movement. Feminists have conducted many battles with limited success to make the NDP a more adequate instrument for the struggle for women's rights: demanding formalized representation on leading party bodies, party women's rights committees, demanding that the BC NDP set up a womens' rights ministry.

The political depth of this still-young movement is indicated in its interest in theory, the proliferation of seminars, consciousness-raising groups, women's studies courses and journals, etc. Feminists are studying their suppressed history and the record of pre-class communal and matriarchal society, in order to discover the road to their emancipation today.

importance of feminism to the anticapitalist struggle

Sexism is rooted in capitalism; the fight against it is an integral part of the anticapitalist struggle. Our ability to intervene in the feminist movement, to learn from it and give leadership to it through the development and application of a program of transitional and democratic demands that can lead the movement forward, is an important test of our own movement. Already our movement's intervention in the feminist movement has won it respect and support from militants. Feminists have become a major source of recruitment to the revolutionary party.

4) The Radicalization Spreads

permanent revol. applied to other groups

As the radicalization develops, other layers of the population enter the struggle. Among the most significant is the development of self-determination struggles of native peoples and Acadiens.

The more than half-million native peoples are mobilizing in struggles for self-determination and sovereignty. Recognition of treaty and aboriginal rights, autonomy of the reserves,

NOTES by Gord D. what about our experience in this milieu? – then the Waffle; importance of feminism to the anticapitalist struggle; permanent revolution applied to other groups

financial and technical resources to develop the reserves economically, and control over schools and education in native languages -- all those and other demands advanced by native militants challenge frontally the sole perspective held out for the native people by white capitalist society.-- cultural and national genocide.

Today's native rights movement, a revolt against the wretched poverty imposed by capitalism on this country's original inhabitants, is inspired by the rise of national minorities and aboriginal peoples the world over. As they rediscover their origins as a sovereign people in primitive communist and matriarchal society, the native people can come to see the revolutionary implications of their struggle for sovereignty today.

relation between historical understanding & development of revolutionary struggle

In their rejection of the white man's racist norms and divisions -- treaty-nontreaty, status-nonstatus, registered-nonregistered, etc., -- native people are developing a growing sense of common nationhood, based on their unique languages, culture, territorial integrity (reserves), and above all their consciousness as an oppressed nationality that is unassimilable by capitalism.

Concentrated in northern New Brunswick with its high unemployment and declining economic prospects, and deprived of their basic national rights, the Acadiens have begun to fight back. They are (after the Indians) the most oppressed group in the economically-depressed Maritimes region.

These conditions, together with the new radicalization (particularly the rise of the Quebec independentist movement and the youth revolt) have revived the Acadien national struggle. Capitalism has been unable to assimilate and destroy the Acadiens, despite its long history of their oppression, beginning with their expulsion and dispersal in 1775. Today the 300,000 Acadiens account for about 40% of New Brunswick's population; they are emerging as a self-conscious nationality with their own 350-year historical traditions, culture, language (a distinct dialect of French) and territory.

An indication of the depth of the current radicalization is the mobilization of homosexuals against their oppression. Gay liberation strikes at some of the deepest taboos of capitalist society, challenging this society's view of homosexuality as an illness or perversion. "Gay Pride" announces that homosexuality is a significant and legitimate component of human sexuality.

Gay people constitute a large and significant oppressed minority in this society -- many studies estimate that at

least 10 per cent of the population is homosexual. Gays are rebelling against laws and societal prejudices that are designed to compel them to hide their existence, their sexuality. The revolutionary socialists of the LSA/LSO completely and unconditionally support full civil liberties and human rights for gay people.

} program for gays

Also indictive of the scope and diversity of this radicalization is the large number of groups in society which are mobilizing against particular grievances in militant actions that often raise far-reaching demands. The tenants' movement, for example, reflects the fact that Canadians are now urbanized and, far from becoming small proprietors or landlords, the majority of residents in the major cities now are tenants. The tenants' movement flows out of the increasing dependency of masses of workers on businessmen, landlords -- capitalists . . . that is, workers own less and less of the essentials of life.

} decay & quality of workers' lives -

The tenants' movement has raised demands which strike at the very heart of the capitalist housing market and point to the central solution -- massive construction of public housing, public ownership of the housing industry, tenants' collective bargaining rights and tenants' management of buildings, etc.

} programs for tenants

In general, every manifestation of capitalist decay and exploitation is bringing forward independent organizations in opposition -- from ecology groups to organizations of pensioners and welfare recipients. There is a general increase in popular scepticism as to this society's preparedness or capacity to improve the lot of masses of the population, and a growing readiness on the part of large numbers of people to move out in militant actions to do something about their exploitation and oppression.

} general manifestation of radicalization

The farmers, too, are mobilizing against big business -- the big "agribusiness" monopolies which control the production of farm machinery, seed and fertilizer supplies, and produce markets. Militant organizations of working farmers like the National Farmers Union (NFU) pose radical solutions to the farm crisis, linked to nationalization of the land and implement manufacturers, cooperative farming and farmer-controlled marketing boards, etc.

The farmers' movement is rooted in important characteristics of capitalist economy -- including widespread and growing regional underdevelopment, the monopolization of agriculture, and the proletarianization of farmers. While a rapidly diminishing part of the population, the farmers continue to be a significant political force, playing an important role in the election of two of the three NDP provincial governments.

} agriculture under capitalism

Highlight notes by Gord D.

The farmers continue to play an important role as political allies of the workers in their struggle against capitalist exploitation, expressed concretely in the membership of farmer militants in the New Democratic Party.

5) The New Radicalization and the Working Class

(i) It would be a major mistake to think that the working class includes only industrial workers. For Marxists, the proletariat includes all those who are forced to sell their labor power because they do not own capital and have no direct access to the instruments of production or to the means of sustenance.

Contrary to the claims of bourgeois propaganda, the proletariat is growing in Canada, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the population. The work force as a whole has increased by more than 50 percent to 8.3 million in the last 18 years. The proportion receiving wages and salaries has grown from 65 percent of the non-agricultural work force to 80 percent over roughly the same period.

(ii) It would be equally mistaken to write off the revolutionary potential of the working class on the grounds of its non-revolutionary mood today. The very "conservatism" of many workers, based on complacent confidence that their present living standards will be maintained, can just as quickly change to revolt and militant struggle if and when the ruling class moves to deprive them of such conquests born of previous struggles. The May 1968 revolt in France was encouraged in part by workers' resentment against a government attack on their medicare scheme --- and these were said to be among the most "complacent" workers in all of Europe!

The work force in Canada has been swelled by large numbers of young workers unencumbered by commitments to the present labor leadership. Substantial components of the class are already affected immediately and directly by the independent radicalizing movements and issues. Women comprise 34 percent of the work force; youth between the ages of 14 and 24 years, 24 percent; the Quebecois constitute about 28 percent of the population. As the younger workers enter the struggle, they in turn can inspire older, more experienced, perhaps more cynical workers -- who are not necessarily more backward, but are worn out from previous battles and previous defeats.

(iii) Another minsconception, common in the left, is to equate "working class" with "trade unions." The unions are fundamental instruments of the class, but they represent only about one in three wage earners. Moreover, they have not appreciably increased this proportion since the last period of radicalization which focused around the formation of powerful industrial unions.

Highlight notes by Gord D.

Since that time there has been a marked increase in employment in other sectors of the economy, in particular the services sector, which now accounts for some 64 percent of Canadian workers. What advance there has been in union membership has occurred largely in this sector in recent years (e.g., teachers, public workers, etc.

objective factors favouring organizing of work force

In part, the failure of the organized proportion of the work force to increase markedly is attributable to a network of legal restraints elaborated by the ruling class to restrict the independence of the unions, and render organization of workers much more difficult. In part, also, the problem flows from the nature of the trade union leadership itself. The bureaucracy, ensconced in the industrial and craft unions, is inclined to move out to organize new sectors of the labor force only insofar as it is obliged to do so by the relative decline of its own base and the negative impact of a large unorganized sector on the general wage level.

While the privileges of the trade union bureaucracy in Canada are far less extensive than those of its U.S. counterparts, they nonetheless constitute a substantial material base underlying this layer's conservatism, and consequent hostility to the youth radicalization, women's rights, the Quebecois right to self-determination, etc. Thus it is not surprising that the first expressions of the radicalization have been manifested outside the main established contingents of organized labor.

The class struggle, even on the economic plane, can be expressed through a variety of organizations, new forms and methods of struggle. Acadien fishermen, under the leadership of Mathilde Blanchard, have set up a union which is more than a union, the Pecheurs Unis -- a nationalist organization with thousands of members which speaks for oppressed French-speaking workers throughout Northeast New Brunswick. Similarly, the radical citizens' committees in Quebec, or the organization of unemployed among Acadiens are expressions of the radicalization of broad layers of the class.

dialectical & ideological classification of relationship between objective & subjective needs of W.C. & various sectors

(iv) Nor is it true that all struggles that are not trade union struggles are "petty-bourgeois." Students' struggles are not "petty-bourgeois" because students are not petty bourgeois. They are a transitional layer of society. The majority (including a large proportion even at the university level) come from the working class; and most are heading toward jobs in the proletariat...or unemployment. National struggles (Quebec, natives, Acadiens) and the feminist struggle arise not from problems of the petty bourgeoisie, but from the objective oppression of oppressed nations or nationalities, and of an oppressed sex. The antiwar movement which can draw in petty-bourgeois layers, reflects the profound objective needs of the working class to fight imperialist war.

Highlight notes by Gord D.

At least one strictly "petty-bourgeois" struggle -- that of working farmers, a not insignificant social and political force in Canada -- can and does have a strong anticapitalist content.

(v) The radicalization has tended to spread in the past years from students, and youth in general, toward broader social layers. Coming years will see this radicalization extend into the organized labor movement, into the fundamental working class organizations of the country. The form and process of this working class radicalization cannot be predicted. But there is no reason to predict that insofar as the working class radicalizes, the students, the feminist movement, or other layers that have been the first to be set in motion will thereby become peripheral or less important. Nor is there cause to predict that their struggles will decline or become subsumed in others.

(A)

The radicalization is an uneven process -- resulting from the stratification and divisions that capitalism imposes upon the working class, the different degrees of exploitation and oppression. The course of the radicalization is therefore expressed, not in a progression from less important to more important, less strategic to more strategic sectors, but through a more complex process of interaction and mutual influence. Oppressed nationalities, bypassed by previous radicalizations, have often moved first and move furtherest in this radicalization -- and, once mobilized, have been in the very vanguard of the struggle of the entire working class (Blacks, Quebecois), without giving any sign of surrendering that position as the class struggle deepens. The national struggle of the Quebecois is locked into the process of the Canadian revolution, in that their national oppression is an integral part of Canadian capitalism; as that struggle develops, the demands aimed against the oppression of the federal regime take on increasing importance.

If the process is uneven, so also is it combined. Layers moving into action influence and react upon more backward layers of the population. Each new mobilizing layer has given birth to others: out of the general youth radicalization emerged the women's liberation movement which in turn pressed forward gay liberation. The Quebecois struggle has inspired the Acadiens, native peoples and all sectors of the anticapitalist struggle.

The struggles of each layer can inspire others into action and solidarity: for example, students' mobilizations spark workers' mass action (France, Amchitka protests); women fighting for their rights within the trade unions (Quebec public sector strike, the ferment in the Canadian Union of Public Employees); the juncture of these struggles to some degree within the NDP where they receive mass political expression.

(B)

NOTES by Gord D.

A. uneven & combined development of current struggles : (*This uneven radicalization process)* can be generalized for the developing Canadian nationalism.

B. High school students sparked by campus revolts & Canadian nationalism sparked by antiwar movement & inspired by general anti-U.S. imperialist manifestations by oppressed nations, e.g. Vietnamese

(vi) Each radicalization differs from previous radicalizations. This one is unique for the depth and breadth of the struggles of layers which constitute the leading edge of the process -- a process which has only begun, and has yet to draw in the main contingents of the industrial working class. This is one of the strongest features of this radicalization. For the deeper, the more extensive the mobilization of these layers under their own leaderships, with their own demands, the deeper and more powerful will be the struggle of the class as a whole. Revolutionaries have every interest in propelling forward all these struggles, extending their mobilization, deepening their independent organization, and their critique of capitalist society.

While primarily finding expression outside the mainstream of the organized labor movement to this point, the struggles of radicalizing layers of the population have already had a powerful impact on the traditional organizations of the working class, the trade unions and their political arm, the New Democratic Party. Quebec trade unions have been transformed dramatically from clerical-dominated reactionary backwaters, to powerful, militant organizations arrayed in battles against the capitalist state. The nationalist Confederation of National Trade Unions (until 1960 called the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor -- what profound changes lie behind that change in name!) almost tripled its forces before the recent split resulting in the formation of the Confederation des Syndicats Democratiques (CSD). Teachers' unions in both nations have developed from professional associations into militant unions, sometimes raising workers' control concepts (program of Quebec's CEQ).

* * * *

E. The New Democratic Party:

1) The "Waffle" Experience

The New Democratic Party has proved to be a particularly powerful pole of attraction and expression for the radicalization in English Canada.

The youth radicalization was quick to orient to the NDP. We saw the first indications of this in 1967-68 in the positive response in NDP ranks, among younger members in particular, to the Socialist Caucus program and policies. The formation of the "Waffle" caucus in 1969 -- the first concrete indication of the possibilities for the growth of a mass left wing in the labor party -- further confirmed the validity of our longstanding orientation to the NDP. The "Waffle" advanced many of the key demands of the Socialist Caucus: support of student-faculty control, of women's liberation, of the anti-war movement, defense of Quebec's right to self-determination,

its insistence that the NDP must attempt to lead extraparliamentary anticapitalist movements.

The Waffle quickly provoked a polarization within the ranks of the party and especially between the bureaucratic leadership and a growing section of the membership favorable to the class-struggle concepts advanced by Waffle partisans. At the 1971 federal leadership convention, the Waffle candidate was supported by 37 percent of the delegates' votes on the fourth and final ballot against David Lewis -- winning support from about half the delegates from riding associations and a considerable number of rank-and-file delegates from trade unions.

(A)

The NDP leadership, in turn, was not unresponsive to the pressures of the radicalization, occasionally identifying with the demands of various radicalizing layers and mass movements. This response by the mass labor party has been a useful antidote to ultraleftist pressures in the student milieu, and has helped make the NDP a certain pole of attraction, within the labor movement as a whole, for radicalized youth.

But as a reformist and parliamentarist party, the NDP is not an adequate vehicle for radicalizing youth. For all its opportunist ability to adapt to popular issues, the NDP leadership has shown itself to be congenitally unable to tolerate revolutionary-minded youth within the party. Repeated purges of the party's youth wing, the New Democratic Youth, have reduced that organization to an ineffective shell, bypassed by young radicals. The Young Socialists, whose first cadres came largely out of the NDY experience, is today bigger and more active in all areas of the youth radicalization, and is the only tendency on the campuses which gives critical support to the NDP as the mass labor party.

(B)

Nor is the NDP an adequate vehicle for other radicalizing layers of the population. Its commitment to the parliamentary perspective conflicts with the theme of independent mass action which is so central to the radicalization. Its reformist program and leadership prevent it from digesting the revolutionary aspirations of the radicalizing mass movements. Its leadership's commitment to the Canadian state structure and institutions, with which it identifies the fate of the Canadian labor movement means it must necessarily oppose the self-determination movement of the Quebecois. Moreover, the NDP leadership shares the hostility of all bureaucrats to organizations outside their control, and thus is reluctant to inject the party's organizational presence into united front coalitions around specific issues.

Thus if the radicalization has come into the NDP, the process is erratic. New ideas confront the party's working class

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A. i.e., Jim Laxer; resiliency of NDP leadership; up to here Waffle has a good tradition

B. not so in terms of election leaflet

base, win some support, and upset the power equilibrium in the party. The leadership is challenged on key aspects of its program and strategy. But the whole process runs into a fundamental problem. The NDP is reformist, when the tasks are revolutionary. The leadership's hostility to the left, combined with organizational reprisals and the general difficulties of constructing a radical caucus in a reformist labor party, encourage sectarian reactions, and propel radicals out of the party. Yet once outside, confronted with the party's continued hegemony in the left, they are pressured to return.

Such is the trajectory of the NDP left in recent years. The "Waffle" caucus was a broad, heterogeneous formation encompassing a wide spectrum of views, from liberal-reformist and patriotic to revolutionary socialist and internationalist. Its leadership, however, was increasingly confined to a cliquish core of "new left" and nationalist elements who, lacking an understanding of class politics and a strategy for constructing a continuing left in the NDP, prevented the Waffle from developing ongoing structures and activity in the party. The Waffle's main impact was around conventions, when it succeeded in mobilizing rank-and-file activists.

At our August 1971 plenum, we analyzed the major weaknesses of the Waffle leadership. They did not understand the class nature of the capitalist state; many had a new left concept that capitalism could be dismantled piece by piece through the creation of counter-communities as extraparliamentary alternative institutions of popular rule. They did not understand the role and dynamics of the working class in the struggle for power; hence their hostility to the trade unions in the NDP, their failure to comprehend the nature of the bureaucracy and how to fight it. They lacked the capacity for patient, sustained work within the party. And of course the Waffle leadership rejected the vital role of the revolutionary vanguard party. They were essentially left reformists, and many maintained a very sectarian approach toward other left forces, in particular the revolutionary socialists of the LSA/LSO.

(A) N.B. i.e. this refers to the Waffle experience, but the Waffle is not pressured to return — faulty schema — our task is to win them to the LSA?

(B) on the contrary the Waffle developed too high a structural profile; actually they developed an understanding of the role of the working class but they found the NDP insufficient for fundamental change; aren't we hostile to the labor bureaucracy because of its conservatism?

NOTES by Gord D.

A. N.B. i.e., this refers to the Waffle experience, but the Waffle is not pressured to return – our task is to win them to the LSA; *(re document: "they are pressured to return")* faulty schema

B. on the contrary the Waffle developed too high a structural profile; actually they developed an understanding of the role of the working class but they found the NDP insufficient for fundamental change; aren't we hostile to the labor bureaucracy because of its conservatism?

When they did not succeed in quickly winning over the party as a whole to their views, or in replacing the leadership, many became discouraged. Some were absorbed into the party apparatus (as with a section of the Waffle in British Columbia); others fell away, looking for shortcuts to approach the working class through ill-conceived workerist adventures (Texpack, working women campaigns, etc.).

(D) this proved their essential activism & view of the W.C. as the agency for social transformation. this "theoretical rationale" is what gave them the basis for their very successful action around the counter-culture conference which forced the NDP in & had a very big impact!

(C) Waffle was always nationalist & we always claimed that this arose from their radicalism & the other problems arose from other factors

All these problems came together and found a focus and theoretical rationale in the Waffle leadership's adaptation to and support of Canadian nationalism. They were given a decisive push from the NDP by the Ontario party leadership's moves in the spring of 1972 to proscribe the Waffle as an organized left wing within the NDP.

(E) This portion is written as if the only successes the Waffle had were around the question of NDP conferences & not around extra-parliamentary activities which are sharply attacked or ignored.

NOTES by Gord D.

C. Waffle was always nationalist & we always claimed that this arose from their radicalism & the other problems arose from other factors

D. This proved their essential activism & view of the working class as the agency for social transformation; this "theoretical rationale" is what gave them the basis of their very successful action around the counter-culture conference which forced the NDP in & had a very big impact!

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(A)

2) "National Liberation" or Class Struggle Politics?

Canadian nationalism has become an increasingly important deviation in new left circles in English Canada. Often inspired by sympathy with the Vietnamese resistance struggle and general identification with the colonial revolution, it flows out of a false identification of Canada with the status of a colony or semi-colony "dominated" or "oppressed" by U.S. imperialism.

In its extreme form, this view projects a "national liberation" struggle for Canadian independence against U.S. imperialism. It is based on several misconceptions:

1) It fails to perceive the Canadian ruling class as an imperialist bourgeoisie in control of a highly centralized state power;

2) It is based on an incorrect assumption that U.S. imperialist investment in Canada plays the same role here that it does in the underdeveloped "third world" (confining domestic industry to backward sectors, inhibiting the development of the local market, etc.);

(B)

3) It ignores that Canada is an oppressor and imperialist power in its own right, and that English Canadian nationalism is necessarily and essentially a reactionary force, buttressing the class rule of the imperialists;

(C)

4) The partisans of Canadian nationalism in the left frequently confuse the debate on Canada's degree of economic integration with the U.S. economy, with the debate on the integration of colonial economies in the imperialist framework. The realtionship of a semi-colony to world imperialism is qualitatively different from the relationship between two imperialist powers.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. ***(Re : 2)*** **not necessarily an exclusive "or" !** ***(Re: Canadian nationalism)*** **i.e. as a sentiment, it is anti-U.S. imperialist;** ***(Re: an identification)*** **but out of real objective (economic) factors;** ***(Re: 1)*** **but a very weak imperialist bourgeoisie**

B. ***(Re: 2)*** **yet Canada has very high unemployment, its natural resources are being "ripped off" & the Maritimes are underdeveloped;** ***(Re: 3 buttressing imperialist rule)*** ***(despite the well-known fact)*** **e.g., MISC's defence of the right to separate of Quebec?**

C. ***(Re: 4)*** **this is a confusion of defenders of the anti-nationalist line**

(D) Canadian nationalist views have become widespread among many student radicals. The Maoist-influenced Canadian Liberation Movement (CLM) has made it the keystone of their politics. The Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) projects a multi-class "people's bloc" for national liberation and defines the Trudeau regime as a "puppet government" of U.S. imperialism. Canadian nationalism has long been given a phony "Marxist" cover by the Moscow-oriented Communist Party, for which support of "Canadian independence" is an integral part of its peaceful co-existence line. The social-democratic NDP leadership has of course consistently carried a Canadian nationalistline as an integral part of its reformist politics.

While the Waffle leadership was nationalist (as indicated in the Waffle's founding statement), Waffle resolutions put

Stalinists & Social-Democrats supported nationalism as a form of class collaboration & therefore Canadian nationalism is class collaborationist? Does this hold for the R.I.N. & Quebec independence

NOTES by Gord D.

D. Stalinists and Social-Democrats supported nationalism as a form of class collaboration & therefore Canadian nationalism is class collaborationist? Does this hold for the R.I.N. & Quebec independence.

(A) forward most of the clear class demands which had long been advanced in the party by the Socialist Caucus, the Waffle's predecessor. It was this basic platform of class demands that provided the basis for the Waffle's activity in the party for close to three years. Attempts by the Waffle leadership to build mass campaigns against a projected "energy resources sellout" to the United States, and the projected dropping of the auto pact Canadian-production safeguards, failed to arouse much support in the NDP; both campaigns were carried independently of the party, and collapsed as a result.

(B) As the Laxer-Watkins leadership of the Waffle firmed up their identification with Canadian nationalism, they came to argue that the socialist struggle is "inseparably linked" with an independence struggle which would cut across class alignments and the existing structures of class organization where these proved to be blocks to the flowering of the independence movement. This thesis was coupled quite naturally with a parallel thesis, borrowed from the "community organizing" concepts of the new left, that a breakthrough could be achieved through organizing workers independently of the "American" unions and the NDP in the "hinterland," the single-industry or resource-based towns and cities faced with extinction as the United States proceeded to "de-industrialize" Canada. Whole communities, they argued, would be mobilized in struggle against U.S. imperialism.

(C) This strategy took the Waffle in rapid succession from one fruitless adventure to another. In the Texpack strike, they aligned with the discredited Canadian Council of Unions, a very small trade union center which makes a principle out of "Canadian unions for Canadian workers." In the ill-fated autopact campaign, the Waffle found itself in a de facto alliance with the United Auto Workers declining caucus of discredited Stalinists.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. *(clear class demands)* **i.e., nationalism was a part of an anti-capitalist thrust; *(platform of class demands)* "despite" Waffle's nationalism? *(collapse of campaigns)* but energy resources campaign has not collapsed & was the basis for popularizing nationalization, i.e., problems were not due to nationalism**

B. **What evidence is there for this statement? what is national is not the linking of the two but rather the new left bias !!**

C. **The other side of this is their pro working class politics and anti-capitalism as part of an anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment. Totally factional attack *(against Waffle)***

(D)

The NDP leadership, seeing the Waffle's vulnerability, moved decisively to curb it. Rather than organize the struggle for democratic rights in the NDP, the Waffle leadership decided to bolt the party, pressing the Ontario Waffle to its split at the Delaware conference in August 1972. Thanks to the intervention of revolutionary socialists, a majority of those at the Delaware conference were won to opposition to the split from the NDP. The class-struggle socialists at Delaware founded the Left Caucus to "continue the struggle" to build a mass left wing in the NDP. The nationalist wing of the Waffle leadership went on to found the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, and has worked since August to firm up MISC as an operational movement, a process whose outcome is not yet clear.

class struggle socialists = ultraleft adaptation + non-class struggle stages
∴ what is left of Waffle in NDP is not nationalist !?

1. The Waffle did carry a partial struggle around democracy.
2. The revs socialists told them to go back into the NDP & attacked them for nationalism instead of putting forward the LSA to the revs cdns — error due to blind anti-nationalism
3. MISC shows that the majority that was won was a pyrrhic victory
4. The radicalization of the NDP has continued thru MISC & is bringing NDPers to Marxist ideas around Independence & Socialism

NOTES by Gord D.

D. class struggle socialists = ultraleft adaptation & non-class struggle stages therefore what is left of Waffle in NDP is not nationalist !? 1) the Waffle did carry a partial struggle around democracy; 2) the revolutionary socialists told them to back into the NDP & attacked them for nationalism instead of putting forward the LSA to the revolutionary socialists *(to join)* – an error due t o blind anti-nationalism, 3) MISC shows that the majority that was won was a pyrrhic victory 4) the radicalization of the NDP has continued through MISC & is bringing Marxist ideas Independence & Socialism

3) Will the Radicalization Bypass the NDP?

The Waffle splitters based their action on another premise; that the NDP will be bypassed by the radicalization as it develops. But the evidence indicates the contrary:

1) The radicalization has already been expressed in the NDP more directly and earlier than it has found mass expression in the trade unions.

2) The NDP leadership's lack of a firm parliamentary base, its limited experience in government, inhibit its capacity to resist powerful pressures from the party's ranks and supporters to identify with the radicalization.

3) The Canadian working class is relatively young in political experience. It lacks a strong class memory of earlier struggles; it is not burdened with the weight of previous defeats; a majority of the class has yet to understand the necessity to break with bourgeois political parties. It shows no readiness to jump over a labor party experience, in a situation where a labor party is already rooted in the life of the class. **(A)**

4) The Waffle defection, the only split in the NDP to this point (excepting the split-off of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec in 1963) was a split along nationalist lines that took very little of the party's base. There have been no signs of splits to the left of the NDP by any significant body of workers. On the contrary, class-conscious workers still tend to be attracted to the NDP.

We are not fetishists. In a revolutionary upsurge of the class, all the class's organizations are challenged. Not just the NDP, but the trade unions may be bypassed in favor of new forms thrown up in the courseof the struggle (action committees, soviets) which more adquately express the needs of the struggle for power.

But revolutionaries can not base their daily action on speculation as to the forms of a future upsurge. It is clear that the working class for a whole period to come will continue to express its radicalization politically through the NDP -- and that revolutionaries must be in that party, building the struggle for class politics. It would be hopeless sectarianism to present ourselves in this period before the class as a party contending for state power against the NDP. **(B)**

4) Our Intervention in the NDP

We will be confronted with new possibilities in the future for the construction of a mass left wing in the NDP. As the

NOTES by Gord D.

A. Split was also along class ideological lines, i.e. an attack vs. social-democracy & influenced a lot of the party's base; but a significant portion of the party's left wing base & militants went to MISC even those who are now active in NDP

B. It is also clear that revolutionaries must counterpose the LSA to those who are breaking with reformism rather than telling them to go back into the NDP.

Waffle experience has indicated, our intervention around a clear class-struggle line can be crucial in determining the course of such developments.

A wealth of experience -- internationally as well as in Canada -- indicates that the only elements capable of sustained work at building a mass left wing in a labor party formation are revolutionary socialists. The reformist leaders are well aware of this; they have banned the Trotskyist organizations in the NDP and repeatedly expelled Trotskyist militants.

The intervention of revolutionary socialists in the NDP would have no purpose if it aimed only to recruit to a revolutionary faction, or to build a caucus which merely brought together members of different quarelling revolutionary groups. Our aim is more ambitious -- to provide a program for the broad struggle against the bureaucratic right-wing leadership, and for a socialist course, and to lead this struggle in action.

The Left Caucus we are now in the process of reconstructing from the Waffle ruins cannot be seen as simply a regroupment of the revolutionary left or an organization standing between the NDP and the LSA, some "revolutionary" or -- more accurately -- centrist caucus. It must be a broad tendency in the NDP, speaking to the masses of politicized workers around a platform of key democratic and transitional demands.

(A) construction of Left Caucus = avoiding being a revolutionary faction but rather carrying a programmatic struggle in the class; but we ourselves have helped to create, by our false nationalist line, a revolutionary caucus.

5) The NDP in Power

Where the NDP is in office, as in three provinces at present, we are challenged to seek ways to relate the radicalizing mass movements to the NDP, to challenge the NDP government to support and implement their demands.

(B) This contradicts the October election coverage.

As we expressed it in the August 1971 plenum report:

"The governmental experience is the best possible experience we can have with the NDP -- not because the NDP under its present leadership will establish an anticapitalist workers government, but because the Canadian workers will only overcome their reformist illusions by seeing in action the total inadequacies of social democracy. But whether the advanced layers of the class succeed in drawing the correct conclusions from their experiences depends on the intervention of the revolutionary socialists . . . We must pay particular attention in the next period to the development of campaigns and demands that advance our concept of a workers' and farmers' government -- a government that carries out decisively anti-capitalist measures -- against the caretaker concept of government upheld by the Schreyers and Blakeneys" (and we might now add, the Barretts).

NOTES by Gord D.

A. Construction of Left Caucus (means) avoiding being a revolutionary faction but rather carrying a programmatic struggle in the class; but we ourselves have helped to create *(this flawed caucus)*, by our false (anti-) nationalist line, a revolutionary caucus

B.* This contradicts the October election coverage *(in Labor Challenge)

1. NDP as opposition
2. NDP as govt.

(A)

Where the NDP is in opposition, we urge it to join and lead mass actions, which can help broaden itssbase and we increase pressure on the leadership to respond to the mass movements. Where the NDP is in office, we must seek to mobilize broad campaigns and actions encompassing rank and file forces from the party and the trade unions aimed at the NDP cabinet; initial steps would include campaigns for the new government to implement the more radical aspects of the NDP program which usually comprises some far-reaching demands adopted by the rank and file in convention. Provincial NDP governments should be pressured by mass actions to use their wide constitutional powers to carry out far-reaching social innovations and reforms. The services of government should be put at the disposal of the mass movements for social change, including the trade unions, -- to act as powerful supplements, not substitutes, for the mass movement. Demands to this effect can serve to polarize the ranks of the party in opposition to the reformist misleadership in office, and thereby present important opportunities to the socialist wing to intervene around a class struggle program.

mass action as basis for confront limitations of reformism

* * * *

F. Some Questions About Our Strategy

1. Our Program: For the "Vanguard" or for the Masses?

Some in the left argue that the revolutionary party should determine its program, and its intervention in the mass movement, by the need to orient to what they consider to be the "vanguard", rather than intervening with a program aimed at building and leading mass movements against the diverse expressions of capitalist exploitation and oppression. They would counterpose what they call "explicitly revolutionary demands" -- demands oriented to the conceptions of these "vanguard" layers -- to the demands which can lead the mass movement forward and provide a focus for mass action.

Revolutionaries should seek to mobilize the masses only when a period of revolutionary upsurge already exists, it is argued; outside a revolutionary or immediately pre-revolutionary situation, the task is primarily or uniquely one of directing propaganda to the vanguard -- around demands which clearly cannot be realized under capitalism.

concepts of transitional program in winning mass influence

We reject such concepts. We do not have two programs, one for the masses, another for the vanguard. Our program is a program of the vanguard, for the masses.

We are a small propaganda group, and our opportunities to address mass audiences, while of the greatest value, are infrequent. Our propaganda is necessarily oriented primarily to the vanguard of the class struggles in Canada. We do not

Highlight notes by Gord D.

A. 1. NDP as opposition; 2. NDP as government; mass action as basis for confronting limitations of reformism; concepts of transitional program in winning mass influence

identify this vanguard with the narrow layer of groups and individuals, thrown forth out of the campus radicalization, who term themselves "revolutionary" and "Marxist". This layer is often marked by widespread ultra-leftist tendencies and a sectarian lack of contact with mass struggles, and by its extreme thinness -- its inability to mobilize more than a couple of hundred militants in any Canadian city. An orientation to a "youth vanguard", so narrowly defined, is not an orientation to the vanguard at all, but rather becomes in practice an adaptation to the ultra-left errors of this narrow layer.

For us the vanguard which we address is the leading and more conscious elements in the class struggle as a whole, in the mass movements; those radicalized by past actions; those interested in revolutionary ideas. This vanguard has no special and separate needs, distinct from those of the working class as a whole, for which a special program must be devised. We seek not to set ourselves up as left critics within the mass movements, but rather to take the leadership of the masses, under our program, and we seek to lead the vanguard elements on the basis of the correctness of our program for the masses. And, more and more, we do not merely present this program in writing, bur rather prove its correctness by applying it in life, by contending with success for the leadership of broad struggles.

To orient only to a comparatively narrow "vanguard" with separate ultimatist demands would not only miseducate that vanguard as to its own tasks; it would surrender the mass movements or potential mass movements to the control of the reformist leaderships, thereby ignoring the main strategic problem of our epoch, the crisis of leadership. Such a false orientation would confine us to a propagandist role precisely when we have important opportunities to take the leadership of mass movements, to combine agitation with propaganda.

As to the critics' insistence that all our demands must be "unrealizeable" under capitalism, we counterpose the concept of our Transitional Program: "' Realizability' or 'unrealizeability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle." (page 12) And the relationship of forces in the struggle will in turn be decided only by the extent to which the masses can be mobilized.

A movement's capacity to mobilize the masses in a revolutionary upsurge will be determined directly by its capacity to mobilize the masses in their present struggles -- and in the course of this process accumulate cadres educated in the school of the mass struggle, the indispensable pre-

Highlight notes by Gord D.

condition for a mass leadership. The "vanguard" itself is defined by the capacity of the most skilled and experienced elements to lead the masses in struggle.

The theory of orienting program and intervention to the "revolutionary" vanguard is substitutionist -- seeking to substitute the spark actions of a self-proclaimed "vanguard" for the self-conscious actions of the masses. Its method is idealist, seeking to base the strategy of the revolutionary party not on the objective conditions and the needs of the masses, but rather on the ideas of the presumed "vanguard." It leads to adaptation to ultraleftism, because it adapts our program to the ultraleft weaknesses of a very thin layer of revolutionary militants who have come out of the student movement -- their incapacity and unwillingness to act as a genuine vanguard, one which seeks to give leadership to the mass struggle. Such conceptions are alien to Trotskyism.

A mass action perspective is of great importance for a small revolutionary group. By avoiding sectarianism, it avoids becoming divorced from reality, with the consequent pressures that imposes on the principled revolutionary positions of the organization.

2) Nature of the Transitional Program

(a) The program is directed to all grievances and needs of the masses. We seek to mobilize sections of the population around their own concerns and needs, to develop the masses' awareness of their concerns, to project demands which point the way to resolving those concerns along anticapitalist lines.

But our program is based on the objective needs of the masses, not their present level of consciousness. Politics includes the science of learning and evaluating the moods, attitudes and prejudices of the masses. But we do not bend our program to meet those moods. Rather, we analyze the objective basis of the masses' consciousness, and advance a program that can take that consciousness through mass action in an anticapitalist direction.

Similarly, we are partisans not only of the demands that flow from the class struggles of trade unionists, but of the demands of all oppressed layers, all struggles that challenge the arbitrary power and privileges of capitalism. As the Transitional Program states: "The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the front-line trenches of all kinds of struggles, even when they involve only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class." (p. 13) "...The Fourth International supports every, even if insufficient demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie." (Ibid., p. 30)

Highlight notes by Gord D.

(b) Transitional programs for "sectors"? The Transitional Program of 1938 urges the national sections to "work out will all possible concreteness a program of transitional demands concerning the peasants (farmers) and urban petty bourgeoisie and conformable to the conditions of each country." So also for all noncapitalist sectors of the population, workers and non-workers. Can we put forward series of demands only on conditions that they "smash capitalism"? The logic of this concept is to deny the validity of individual transitional demands, and hence the whole concept of the transitional program as a "tool kit" of demands to fit widely varying situations and tasks.

The transitional program is above all a method of approach and a set of proposals aimed at mobilizing the masses for revolutionary action. If this is recognized, the use of the program is clear. Masses develop consciousness unevenly, depending on their experiences and varying degrees of oppression and exploitation. Thus some layers will be more receptive than others to given demands and slogans, depending on the form and nature of the particular struggle. The task of revolutionaries is to determine which sets of demands must be advanced at particular moments of the struggle. This in turn is determined by
1) the objective conditions;
2) the existing level of consciousness of the masses.

(A)

The transitional program is not static. Today we are applying and extending it to meet new challenges and new conditions. The diversity of experiences arising from the current radicalization has led to some significant extensions. The labor party demand is a special application of the program. Black nationalism and Quebecois nationalism have required us to elaborate special sets of demands arising out of those struggles. The sociology of the student revolt and the economic contradictions of postwar "neo-capitalism" have provoked other additions. The antibureaucratic struggles in the workers' states have added demands to our transitional program for these sectors, too.

(B)

Basic to the transitional method is the singling out of sets of demands for particular attention, and linking the particular sets of demands to our general transitional program in an educational way. To deny the validity of separating out particular aspects of the overall program for special consideration is to challenge our understanding of the uneven nature of the radicalization, and the legitimacy of independent mass movements mobilizing around their own concerns and demands.

(c) The importance of democratic demands and their interrelationship with transitional demands. Struggles for democratic rights assume great importance in this period when

Notes by Gord D.
A. highlight notes
B. Phenomenon of Canadian nationalism is a concrete event to which such a program can be applied to permit us to intervene in ongoing processes;
***(paragraph in)* respect & conclusion of above**

decadent capitalism in its death agony increasingly turns against even previous conquests of the democratic movement. In the epoch of capitalist decay there is a constant tendency towards the erosion of basic democratic rights. Moreover, the increasing number of democratic struggles is itself an indication of genuine mass ferment, as newer, more oppressed layers enter the struggle.

(A) Revolutionaries do not fight for democratic rights as ends in themselves, as do the reformists and opportunists. We seek to use democratic demands in conjunction with deep-going proletarian slogans to promote dual power situations in which the masses directly confront the state with their own embryonic institutions of rule. As the Transitional Program states: "Democratic slogans, transitional demands and the problems of the socialist revolution are not divided into separate historical epochs...but stem directly from one another." (p. 40)

In some circumstances democratic demands can play an exceptional role in sparking mass actions which lead directly towards revolutionary struggles. The Transitional Program assigns them a key role in backward countries, fascist countries and the workers' states. With the development of struggles of oppressed nationalities and nations in the advanced capitalist countries, democratic struggles take an even greater importance in the imperialist democracies, too.

Many of our key activities today are centered around democratic demands -- the abortion campaign, high school rights, defense campaigns, the language struggle in Quebec, etc.

(B) Some slogans are in their implications more destructive of capitalism than other slogans. But the division is not one between democratic slogans on the one hand and the transitional slogans, strictly defined, on the other. Democratization of the army would be at the least no less destructive of capitalism than the sliding scale of hours; independence of the colonies can be no less destructive of capitalism than pegging wage increases to increases in the cost of living. The radical consequences of a slogan are not to be derived from its logical implications, however, but from the extent to which it mobilizes the masses for struggle against the bourgeoisie. We fight for democratic demands using proletarian methods of struggle, not be relying on the bourgeoisie and formal "democracy" but by mobilizing the masses independently in their own name, with their own leadership.

The interrelation of democratic and transitional demands is bound up with our conception of the epoch -- one of permanent revolution -- and of the nature of the revolution as a combined revolution. The aims of the democratic struggles of today can be achieved only through the overthrow of capitalism

Notes by Gord D.

A. Highlight notes

B. Part of uneven & combined development & permanent revolution; e.g. *(validity of slogan)* "Every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child"

and the construction of a socialist society. Thus, the only way to durable and thoroughgoing democracy is through the victory of the working class and its allies, resulting in the overthrow of capitalism. This is the central thesis of the theory of permanent revolution.

The struggles of the working class, win repeated partial victories, concrete gains for the workers -- "reforms" within capitalist society. The winning of such "reforms" brings valuable gains in terms of increased self-confidence, cohesion, understanding of the nature of the enemy, of how to struggle, etc. Revolutionaries support struggles for "reforms," and do not exclude demands from their program on the grounds that these demands are capable of achievement without a revolution. We reject labelling a demand "reformist" on the grounds that it can be won under capitalism. Reformism is not a collection of demands, but rather the doctrine that the aims of the socialist or workers movement can be achieved through a process of gradual reform, without the revolutionary transfer of power and change in property relationships.

3) The Combination of Agitation and Propaganda

(i) As a small cadre organization, our role is essentially propagandistic in character. But already many opportunities have been presented to us to gain valuable mass action experiences. We have built and led sustained campaigns in defense of the French language in Quebec, for repeal of anti-abortion laws and against the Vietnam war, in English Canada. We have also intervened to play a decisive role in conjunctural actions, such as building the mass opposition to the War Measures Act in Quebec and English Canada; and the Amchitka actions, where our intervention was especially aided through our hegemony in the leadership of the antiwar movement and our understanding of the role of a campus base can play in mobilizing non-campus forces.

Thus our small forces, while not enjoying hegemony in the left, already have an impact in the radicalization of layers of the working class in Canada. And we have developed cadres skilled in mass work, an indispensable and vital part of the equipment and training of every effective proletarian revolutionist.

(ii) United front work is vital in this period, when we are confronted with a struggle for hegemony in the revolutionary left. We have had extensive experience with such formations in recent years, especially in the form of single-issue mass action coalitions. Such coalitions apply the concept of the united front to meet the requirements of a molecular radicalization which proceeds not primarily out of the existing or traditional mass organizations of the class, but rather

Notes by Gord D.

A. e.g. an independent Canada from vicissitudes of world market, dominated domestically U.S. imperial interests

B. Highlight notes in 2nd & last paragraphs

receives its leading expression among new and largely unorganized elements. Such non-exclusionist coalitions, which we have used extensively in the antiwar and feminist movements, have proved valuable weapons in the arsenal of revolutionary tactics.

* * * *

G. Building the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

The past year has seen a turn in the world political situation, marked by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking, the resulting political "detente", and the success of this combination of imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats in forcing the Vietnamese revolution to give major concessions in its freedom struggle. This new situation has had a sobering effect on radicalizing layers worldwide, encouraging illusions in peaceful co-existence. It has masked the realities of world class struggle, swiftly easing the atmosphere of world political crisis focused for many years on the Vietnam war. It has given new flexibility to U.S. imperialism.

This whole section appears to be a repeat of the preamble !!!

.....page 51/

Notes by Gord D. This whole section appears to be a repeat of the preamble !!!

1) Building the Revolutionary Party

To lead the struggle forward to a successful contest for power against the entrenched rule of the bourgeoisie -- especially in an advanced imperialist country like Canada, with a sophisticated, ruthless ruling class -- requires a revolutionary party steeled in struggle against both opportunism and ultraleftism, a party modelled after the Bolshevik party of Lenin.

The possibilities today to build such a mass revolutionary vanguard party are particularly favorable. Capitalist stability is becoming increasingly eroded; the main objective obstacles are being overcome. While reformism is making gains, Stalinism is largely discredited, and our other opponents in the left are in disarray, disoriented by their inability to come to grips with the challenges and problems posed by the new radicalization. A new layer of youth are being won to recognition of the need for a Leninist-type revolutionary vanguard party.

These elements come to us often with much experience in the mass movement, but with many misconceptions and misunderstandings about the politics and organizational concepts of Trotskyism. They frequently lack an appreciation of the fundamental dynamic of the radicalization. They pose a major challenge to our movement: the need for the utmost political and theoretical clarity, to win and assimilate them to Trotskyism -- to the Fourth International and its Canadian section.

As the 1969 World Congress document on the worldwide youth radicalization states: "There is an abundance of activism, of readiness to struggle and sacrifice among the ranks of youth. What is most lacking in the new generation is theoretical training, political clarity, and a correct line of struggle. This side of the revolutionary socialist youth movement is of decisive importance for its further development..."

The revolutionary youth must be schooled in the organizational concepts of Bolshevism -- "the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our epoch" -- the key objective block to the advance of the revolution today.

Corresponding to the renewed interest in Trotskyism are stepped-up attacks on us by our opponents. We must carry on an unceasing and relentless work of polemicizing with all

our opponents within the left and workers' movement -- including those who profess to share some adherence to "Trotskyism." The only way to win over the best elements and influence and win new, uncommitted forces is through such a sustained and uncompromising attempt to explain our principled positions.

(A) why is this repeated so frequently?

2) <u>The Present Political Situation</u>

The past year has seen a turn in the world political situation, marked by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking, the resulting political "detente," and the success of this combination of imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats in forcing the Vietnamese revolution to give major concessions in its freedom struggle. This new situation has had a sobering effect on radicalizing layers worldwide, encouraging illusions in peaceful co-existence. It has masked the realities of the world class struggle, swiftly easing the atmosphere of world political crisis focused for many years on the Vietnam war. It has given new flexibility to U.S. imperialism.

The impact of these developments has been particularly felt in the student movement, which was most directly inspired by the upsurge of colonial revolution and most responsive to world events. This has coincided in Canada with the exhaustion or diversion of a good part of the layer of revolutionary militants thrown forth by the upsurge of the student movement in 1968-69.

A downturn in political activism on the campuses is combined with a certain fragmentation of the student left under the dual pressures of ultraleftism (rationalizing the isolation of vanguard elements from a quiescent mass movement), and opportunism (adaptation to the momentary limitations of the mass movement).

what is meant by a "downturn"? The student movement is in a different phase, but struggles are proceeding;

FALSE PESSIMISM!

(B) This turn in the student movement happens to coincide with two other political developments of some importance. The first is the break-up of the Waffle Caucus in the NDP -- its split in Ontario, and its decline or disappearance as an active force in the NDP in other areas. This is due in part to the frustration and impatience of those becoming aware of the entrenched power and resources of the NDP brass, and in part to the disorienting effect of the wave of nationalism in the left, pulling the Waffle leadership away from a class struggle orientation.

but MISC has brought these students to Marxism -- indicating tremendous latency for a resurgence

nationalism has not pulled students out of activity!

At the same time, the April-May 1972 labor upsurge in Quebec has been followed by a sharp downturn. The government has been able to take heavy advantage of the unions' disorientation and lack of leadership through the jailing

Notes by Gord D.

A. why is this repeated so frequently?

B. FALSE PESSIMISM ! What is meant by a "downturn"? The student movement is in a different phase, but struggles are proceeding; but MISC has brought these students to Marxism – indicating tremendous latency for a resurgence; nationalism has not pulled students out of activity!

of the union leaders and the pressing forward of harsh new anti-labor laws. These moves have not provoked any major visible response. The entire mass movement -- except for the student movement -- is quiescent.

Yet all evidence indicates that these downturns in mass struggles are limited and temporary.

The detente in the world political situation, as has been noted, occurs during a period of continuing and deepening world crisis for capitalism, in which the overall forward thrust of world revolution has not been reversed. The student movement in particular will be very responsive to turns in the world situation. It is already in motion in many areas in militant actions against education cutbacks, with a limited development of coordinating bodies. The highly explosive objective situation in Quebec could lead to a revival of mass struggles at any time; nationalist consciousness continues to gather strength. Women's liberation is influencing increasing numbers.

The desertion of the Waffle leadership from the NDP has disorganized and set back the NDP left, but has not diminished its potential support and possibilities, as recent developments in Ontario and British Columbia have shown. The NDP holds, and in important areas increases its strength, scoring a decisive breakthrough in B.C. The labor movement has been thrown on the defensive in Quebec after a heroic struggle -- but nowhere in Canada has it suffered decisive defeats; the election of three provincial NDP governments is an additional hindrance to the success of any antilabor drive. No major component of the mass movements in Canada has been defeated or turned back.

i.e., we have witnessed a temporary lull which was not a defeat

The instability of the bourgeoisie's political machine, noted in the 1968 Political Resolution, has continued. Trudeau's defeat in the October 1972 federal elections testifies to the unease and discontent of broad layers of the working masses. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie has found no solution to its constitutional impasse produced by the impact of Quebec nationalism.

In general, if there has been a temporary downturn in some of the more dynamic and political expressions of the radicalization, the underlying process of growing disenchantment with the prevailing social system, growing class tensions and class struggles, has not been reversed and is continuing. It will take concrete form in dramatic mass struggles in the coming period.

3) Tasks of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

The years of the past wave of radicalization have been

Notes by Gord D.: i.e., we have witnessed a temporary lull which was not a defeat

Pollyana self-congratulation at one of the most critical junctures of the league's history when our whole past is being challenged & our leadership unresponsive

a period of rapid growth for the LSA/LSO. Its increased forces stand today on firm foundations: the continuity of cadres, theory, program and ~~political activity~~ of the LSA/LSO over past decades. In addition, the LSA/LSO has consolidated a cross-Canada leadership cadre from the experiences of the past wave of the radicalization. These strengths stand in striking contrast to the bankruptcy and disarray of our opponents on the left, and present us with important opportunities to make gains in the coming period, and play a leadership role in the next stages of the mass movement.

A downturn in the mass movements, particularly in their student sector, brings sharp and rapid pressures to bear on the revolutionary vanguard -- pressures of both an ultraleftist and opportunist character. The present conjuncture demands sharpened vigilence to guard the integrity of the programmatic and theoretical heritage of the Trotskyist movement.

The present conjuncture demands an emphasis on consolidation and assimilation of forces won in the previous period, on intensive contact work, and on educational programs. It also calls on the movement to consciously turn outward, put new energy in its propaganda, and search for openings to permit it to transmit its program on an agitational plane, and to participate in and launch actions which test this program in life.

(i) The educational and propagandistic work of the LSA/LSO requires a more conscious planning and an increased energy in reaching new forces outside the movement. Forums, classes and conferences must be aimed at reaching the broad layers of those radicalizing through present experiences and coming to revolutionary conclusions.

The most important vehicle enabling us to focus this work on a sustained and regular basis is our press. Our press is interventionist, it is the educator of our cadres. To meet the heightened interest in Trotskyism, to intervene in the debates of the left, we must increase our treatment of theoretical questions in the two newspapers, equipping our cadres to carry our ideas more effectively into the many political openings now before us.

The press and our pamphlets enable us to combine broad educational work around central aspects of our program aimed at those only now coming into contact with revolutionary views, with the theoretical development of our members and sympathizers. Opportunities to project our program on a br ad agitational plane can bring greater gains now than in the previous period, as recent municipal election campaigns have shown.

(ii) Of particular importance in this period is our movement's work in the New Democratic Party, and in building a mass left wing within it. This is a long-range task. We aim to bring the issues and demands posed by the various radicalizing mass movements into the NDP to challenge the party to solidarize with them.

- our press has not responded properly to NDP – balance of power theory – sideline critics – attacks NDP as undifferentiated party – incorrect analysis of MISC forces

With the Waffle debacle, our general task across the country is to seek opportunities to build a left caucus in each provincial section. This can be done in a number of ways. Recent experiences as in British Columbia, where a women's caucus at the provincial convention led in challenging the NDP government and leadership to respond to the demands of the feminist movement, or in Ontario, where the recent convention witnessed the formation of caucuses of women, trade union militants, teachers and Franco-Ontariens, indicate the developing possibilities within the NDP to link the independent radicalizing movements to our strategy for the construction of a mass left wing in the labor party. The left caucus must take up all the key demands put forward by these movements.

(iii) Our activities flow from the objective requirements of the world revolutionary process as a whole. Thus the correct definition of Vietnam by the Fourth International as the center of the world contest between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, led it as early as 1965 to call on all its national sections to make the defense of the Vietnamese revolution a priority in their work. We have consistently worked to build a mass movement against the war around the demands for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Southeast Asia, and an end to the complicity of the Canadian government. We were prepared to sustain this effort through periods when possibilities to mobilize large numbers in antiwar actions were very limited.

} Vietnam as centre of world revolution.

For revolutionary socialists, international responsibilities are uppermost in the elaboration of a principled political line. Work to convey the urgency of mass mobilization in response to the turning points of the world class struggle is a key method to convey the principles of revolutionary politics to a broad audience.

} internationalism

The Vietnam accords have removed the direct intervention of U.S. troops and war planes from Vietnam, and undercut the possibilities for mass antiwar actions. Our efforts should be geared to explaining the nature and roots of the settlement, through a propagandistic intervention in our own name, explaining the betrayal by the bureaucracy of the workers' states, and the nature of Stalinism. We should grasp every opportunity, particularly in the student and NDP milieu, to explain our opposition to Canadian participation in the ICCS, and seize opportunities for united action.

} - our propaganda tasks in antiwar mvmt. – should include explaining nature of Vietnamese Revol'n in framework of Permanent Revol'n

NOTES by Gord D.

A. **our press has not responded properly to the NDP – balance of power theory;** ***(merely appearing as)*** **sideline critics; attacks** ***(against)*** **NDP as an undifferentiated party; incorrect analysis of MISC forces**

B. ***(Highlight note)*** **Vietnam as centre of world revolution; our internationalism**

C. **Our propaganda tasks in antiwar movement; we should include explaining nature of Vietnamese Revolution within the framework of the Permanent Revolution**

(iv) The key task of revolutionaries is to intervene in all the present radicalizing struggles around the big political issues of the day -- the war, women's liberation, the New Democratic Party, civic politics, Quebec self-determination, etc. It is around these struggles, and not primarily around narrowly-conceived "job" issues, or community organising, self-help projects like day care centers, implantation in the counter-culture, etc., that the reformist and bureaucratic leaderships will be confronted, exposed, combatted and overcome.

(v) A key aspect of our work continues to be our intervention in the feminist movement. We participate in all on-going actions of the women's liberation movement, including struggles for key demands aimed against women's oppression (child care, equal pay, etc.), and women's studies courses. The focus of this intervention at this time is the building of a campaign for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. Of particular importance is increased attention to the propagandist side of our intervention, flowing from the tremendous interest among feminists in the theoretical explanations of women's oppression and in the history of their struggle against that oppression..

(vi) While openings for revolutionaries in trade union work are still very limited, they are increasing, particularly in some of the newly organized sectors of the work force. We must work to increase our active forces in the labor movement, broaden their connections and influence, and develop the coordination of trade union work.

We do not project massive colonization of members into the trade unions; they are not the arena where in this period we can make the greatest gains in recruitment or in influence for our ideas. Our major gains from the unions will be made around already radicalizing workers whom we meet in and around the NDP, or through our intervention in radicalizing forces and movements around major political questions (the war, feminist movement, etc). However, we must be alert to whatever possibilities open up for sustained fraction work in the unions. In a very few areas we have already had some such experiences (e.g. some industrial locals in the Toronto area, postal workers fractions in several branches). The present militancy of teachers' unionism, flowing from the cutbacks in education spending and under the direct influence of the youth radicalization, may present us with some opportunities in the near future.

(vii) Another key challenge before our movement is to build the independent youth organization, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The central task

NOTE by Gord D.: our trade union orientation

of all the sections of the Fourth International today is to win and assimilate the best of the rebel youth, the main source of recruits for the revolutionary party. The independent youth organization offers the vehicle for this task; it must be a school of revolution for the youth.

The independent youth organization facilitates the recruitment of youth; the development of youth cadres as self-acting revolutionary leaders; and the elaboration of a program of intervention in the youth milieu, the central arena of the current radicalization.

(viii) We must continue and increase our intervention in the struggle for an independent and socialist Quebec. In English Canada, we defend unconditionally the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination. In Quebec we intervene in the broad nationalist movement around a clear program of demands which advance the struggle of the Quebecois for their national rights. We also aim to propel forward the working class in the leadership of the national struggle, in accordance with the theory of permanent revolution. In particular, we pose the necessity for independent labor political action through our propaganda slogan for a labor party based on the trade unions, as an alternative to the bourgeois parties including the Parti Quebecois and the labor bureaucracy's subordination to the latter. We participate in and encourage the formation of non-exclusive united fronts, based on the principle of mass action independent of the bourgeoisie and its institutions, around specific objectives in the nationalist struggle. All our work turns around the necessity to build the LSO, the Quebec wing of the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

(ix) Breaking the power of the Canadian state, the instrument of the oppression of the Quebecois and of the working masses and oppressed of English Canada, requires the building of a united and cohesive bi-national revolutionary party. Building the unity of the LSA/LSO, the nucleus of this party, is a prime concern of the entire movement. This party can be built only as a constituent unit of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. Participation in the world movement, its campaigns, and its claboration of a correct world strategy is therefore an important priority for its Canadian section, the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

translated into concrete tasks, this => independent & French Quebec.

why shouldn't we pose the LSO as an alternative to the rev. independentists. labor party is very unreal.

concluding general statement of overall tasks of Canadian section.

NOTES by Gord D.

A. translated into concrete tasks, this equals (For an) independent & French Quebec

B. Why shouldn't we pose the LSO as an alternative to the "revolutionary independentists." The labor party (slogan) is very unreal.

C. (This is the) concluding general statement of the overall tasks of the Canadian section

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